SCHWARZENAU

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor, F. E. MALLOTT, *Professor of Church History Bethany Biblical Seminary*
Assistant Editor, ELGIN S. MOYER Contributing Editor, L. D. ROSE

Volume III OCTOBER, 1941 Number One

CONTENTS

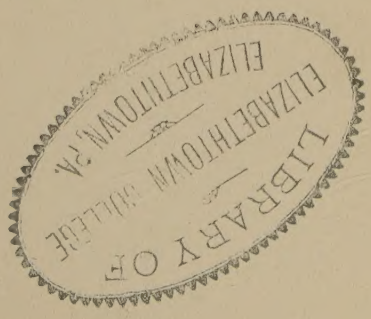
EDITORIAL 3

DUNKERS AS PUBLISHERS 5
Glen McFadden

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS 22
William M. Beahm

LOWER MIAMI CHURCH 36
Ross L. Noffsinger

ROANN CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, ROANN, INDIANA 47
Bruce Flora



WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

William M. Beahm, A.M., D.D., Professor of Christian Theology and Missions of Bethany Biblical Seminary and is about to write a Ph.D. as a further academic title. The paper presented herein is a brief presentation of the body of his doctoral thesis. Publication as a book is a distinct possibility.

Glen McFadden, A.B. of Manchester College is a Senior in Bethany Biblical Seminary. He has had experience as teacher and pastor. The paper here presented is the prize-winning essay of the Judy Essay Contest.

Bruce Flora, A.B. of Bridgewater College is a student-pastor of the Roann (Ind.) Church while he continues his work in Bethany Biblical Seminary.

Ross Noffsinger, A.B., of Manchester College is a student-pastor of the Portland (Ind.) Church in connection with work in Bethany Biblical Seminary. He is a native son of the historical church of which he writes.

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Volume III APRIL, 1942 Number Three

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL NOTES 119

EXCERPTS FROM ELDER JOHN J. EMMERT'S DIARY 120
John Heckman

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD THEOLOGY 124
Virgil D. Weimer

WOULD SAINT FRANCIS MAKE A GOOD DUNKER? 130
Vernon Miller

CHARITY IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH 146
Mary Schaeffer

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM 162
Paul S. Hersch

BOOK REVIEWS 170

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Eld. John Heckman, is a resident of Polo, Ill. Long known for his active and effective service, the study of Brethren history has been a passion with him. Co-author of the District History of North Illinois and Wisconsin, the work is based on his research.

Virgil D. Weimer, A.B. of Bridgewater College of Virginia. He completes the B.D. degree of Bethany Biblical Seminary in May 1942. Minister and pastor.

Vernon Miller, A.B., of Manchester College of Indiana. Minister. At present in residence at Bethany Biblical Seminary. Leader in peace and work camp and youth activities.

Mary Schaeffer, A.B., of Manchester College, has won distinction on the Mission Field of China. The world catastrophe found her on furlough and she has spent the year 1941-42 in study at Bethany Biblical Seminary where she receives the degree M.R.E. in May, 1942.

Paul S. Hersch, A.B., of Manchaster College. Minister. Resident student at Bethany Biblical Seminary. One who can write and speak with the gift of clarity.

AS WE GO ON

With this issue we launch Volume III. In this number we are happy to present the prize-winning essay that emerged from the Judy Essay Contest. The prizes of this writing contest were offered by Mr. Will Judy, of the Judy Publishing Co., Chicago. It was Mr. Judy's genuine interest in our denominational history and an understandable pride in his own craft which proposed the subject "Dunkers as Publishers." Glen McFadden of Michigan City and Bernard V. King of McPherson, Kansas, produced the winning manuscripts.

A congregational record is always of value. A record of one congregation checked with another will often show significant likenesses. There is a correlation between denominational and national life. The story written by Bruce Flora is that of one of those congregations, committed to practicing the simple life, which rode with the popular current in the palmy days of a flush of American financial fever. All who read may well ponder.

Bro. John Puterbaugh of Rossburg, Ohio, is particularly interested in locating any descendant of Michael Pfoutz, an elder of the Colonial Church. He writes "in my wife's ancestry is a Sarah Pfoutz that could be a granddaughter of the immigrant, Michael Pfoutz." Bro. Puterbaugh also makes reference to his own "great-great-great-grandfather, Joseph Rohrer, born in Pennsylvania, the first pioneer settler in Clay Township, Montgomery County, Ohio. His daughter Mary was the first woman baptized in the Church of the Brethren west of the Great Miami River." Does this register with anyone? Don't hesitate to speak if it does.

Bro. Puterbaugh also makes a suggestion that one thing the Alexander Mack Historical Society needs is a representative at each District Meeting. It is one of the most practicable suggestions that has

come to us yet. Anyone willing to serve as District representative in his district—write us for literature and helps.

The next issue of Schwarzenau is not to be a common one. (There is no such thing as a common issue of this journal.) But the next issue is to be extraordinary even for this uncommon journal. It is to be a Bibliographical Number. There has long been need for something like a comprehensive bibliography of the field of Brethren history and literature to cover the period from 1800. The Colonial Period has been well covered by the work of Hildeburn, Seidensticker, and the well-known work of J. S. Flory. We propose now to do the same for the period from 1800 to the present. This issue will be of particular value to libraries and to students everywhere. We can only print our usual number of copies and shall reserve an unusual number for certain schools. If you wish to procure this unusual issue (which otherwise would have been published as a bound book, if it had not been for expense) see that your name is on the subscription list. Fair Warning! Last Warning!

NEXT ISSUE

January, 1942

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NUMBER

Judy Essay Contest

Winning Essay

DUNKERS AS PUBLISHERS

By Glen McFadden

CHAPTER I

THE SOWER PRESS

There have been many chapters written on the Sower Press. No paper on the subject of Dunkers as Publishers, however, would be complete without beginning with the names of Christopher Sower and Son. There is no attempt to write a complete history here of these noble pioneers. We are concerned only with those more significant events which were related to their publishing interests.

To trace the publishing interests of the Brethren we must go back and consider the beginnings of our brotherhood in Europe. There seems to be enough evidence, as quoted by Sharp, Brumbaugh, Thomas, and others, to make it more than mere supposition that the Brethren with others in Europe established a press about the year 1726 at Berleburg, near Schwarzenau, from which they published the famous Berleburg Bible. Brumbaugh quotes Abraham H. Cassel as believing that the Brethren in Europe purchased a larger press, and then sent the original one over to their brethren in Germantown.[1] Most of the authorities agree that the press came from Europe, being sent for religious propaganda purposes. Perhaps Flory is right when he says, after considering the possible source of this press, "There is no historical evidence, however, to prove that this is so, and how Sower came by his press remains to this day an impenetrable mystery."[2] It may be that further proof has been brought to light on this problem in the recent publication of the correspondence of Christopher Sower by the Germantown

1. Brumbaugh: *History of the Brethren,* p. 354.
2. Flory: *Literary Activities of the Brethren,* p. 52.

Historical Society, which has not been available to the writer in this study. This is one question upon which further light is needed.

Christopher Sower received this printing press in 1738. Just as this generous spirit had built his house to provide also for a meeting-house as well as his dwelling, so too he incorporated his new printing press in his house for twelve years. The first issues from this press came out about June of 1738. Isaiah Thomas says that the press was first sent over and entrusted to Jacob Gaus, also a German Baptist, but that he did not possess the talent necessary to keep up the business. He further states that the press was then turned over to Christopher Sower, not necessarily because he was a printer, but because he was a good manager, a fact which was borne out by his immediately importing workmen from Europe who knew the trade well, thereby launching his enterprise on a profitable basis.[3] Thomas emphasizes the ability of Sower by stating that he placed his business on such an efficient basis that he soon gained the approbation even of his opposers.

Before proceeding further with the Sower Press, the question of Sower's affiliation with the Brethren should be decided, since some writers question his membership in the church. Thomas says: "He was religious in the temper of his mind, and quiet in his deportment. Although inclining to Mennonism, he was called a Separatist; but, in fact, did not join any particular sect."[4] Rumball-Petre, after paying tribute to his deeply religious motives in printing the first Bible, and in giving away copies freely to the poor, says: "We cannot even say that he printed it to please his church, for we have no evidence that he ever joined any church, sympathetic as he may have been toward the Church of the Brethren. Mystics like Saur are often too individualistic to join any group."[5] In favor of his membership in the Brethren fellowship, a fact which we of the same faith do not believe needs documentation, let a few facts be brought to our consideration. Bishop, one of the real sources on the importance of Sower in Colonial America, says this: "Saur was of that valuable class of German Protestants who at different times since the arrival of Penn, have peopled Philadelphia, Germantown, Lancaster, and other parts of Pennsylvania, and to a firm attachment to their religion, have added an amount of

3. Thomas, Isaiah: *History of Printing in America,* Vol. I, pp. 271, 273.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 273.
5. Rumball-Petre: *America's First Bibles,* p. 16.

skill and industry in many of the arts, not exceeded by any class in the country."[6] Here is pointed out two significant facts, his Protestant *membership,* and his *strong attachment* to his religion. Add to this the accepted fact that Christopher Sower, Jr., was a member of the church, and that when he took over the business of his father and carried on the same policies nothing was said concerning any change of religious principles, and it becomes almost conclusive that the son followed his father's beliefs and church affiliation. In spite of Thomas' statement that he favored Mennonism, and even though he did print quite a few books for the Mennonites, we do know that he at one time withheld his name from the imprint of a Mennonite publication in 1744 because he did not approve of its contents.[7] The main arguments for Sower's membership in the Dunker faith are well given by Brumbaugh. Among these arguments, some of which have been herein mentioned, there is one which is outstanding. This evidence is in the form of a letter written by Sower himself, November 17, 1738, in which he points out that he was moved to go into the printing business "by relating that the Dunkers, at a love feast prepared in his behalf, sought to bind his heart to the purpose of becoming a book printer; giving as their reason that the growth and development of the church depended upon having a German printer who would aid the church by disseminating through books and magazines and other publications the literature of the church."[8] Brumbaugh here points out a fact which is well known to all of us, that is, the principle of close communion which has been the practice of the Brethren: If Sower was a partaker of this love feast he was unquestionably a member of the church.

The motives which dominated the founding of this first publishing enterprise have never been questioned. They were deep seated religious motives which were concerned with doing a much needed service for his fellow men. The letter above mentioned also gives Sower's words expressing a desire that his whole life should be "all consecrated to His service and the glorification of His name." This generous Christian spirit of the printer is best pointed out by the free Bibles which he gave away and the increase in circulation of his periodicals without any increase in price.

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6. Bishop: *A History of American Manufactures, from 1608-1860,* p. 181.
7. Seidensticker: *First Century of German Printing,* p. 28.
8. Brumbaugh: *Op. cit.,* pp. 350, 351.

It has been a source of interest and somewhat of a problem concerning the cheap price of the Sower Bibles and especially the generosity of the printer in giving away many copies to those who were poor—"to the poor and needy we have no price." Did this offer come out of the spirit of the printer, or was there some agreement? Thomas says concerning the press that was sent over to Jacob Gaus, and later became the property of Sower: "He (Gaus) was to have the use of, and emolument arising from the press, on condition that he should distribute a certain number of copies of each of the religious books he should print among the poor Germans."[9] Rumball-Petre refers to the recently discovered correspondence between Christian Schütz which suggests that the "no price" policy was characteristic of Schütz also. "Writing to Dr. Luther about the boxes of books which he had sent to Saur for distribution, Schütz admits that it was done at great financial loss to himself."[10] His policy was to charge a moderate rate to those who could pay, and then money so paid should provide for the free distribution of the books to the poor. It appears to the writer that this common understanding between these two generous spirits, Schütz and Sower, may have been the basis of Thomas' misunderstanding in citing it as an agreement between those who sent the press and Jacob Gaus. It is quite probable that Schütz in writing about the printing equipment which he had expected to get should mention the fact that such equipment would be used to carry on the good work which was close to the heart of both he and Sower.

But this generosity on the part of Sower in giving away his literature and especially the Bibles, is most easily explained by looking into the mind of the man himself. We have his own words as to how he loaned to those in need, gave to those who could not repay, and never kept books against his debtors. It is interesting in these days of credit and installment buying to note this policy of Sower. "I am not a rich man, and do not yearn to be one, but I am regarded as rich because I always buy for cash, but I never loan anything except when I know that it will be repaid at the right time; or where a poor man has nothing and is helpless, there I forgive him in advance and keep no books. Therefore at all times my accounts are correct."[11] This is in line with the well-known

9. Thomas: *Op. cit.*, p. 271.
10. Rumball-Petre: *Op. cit.*, p. 18, 19.
11. Rumball-Petre: *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

fact that his enterprise was begun on the basis of religious service rather than for profit, a policy carried out through his life and then carried forward also by his son, Christopher Sower, Jr.

Every pioneer has had to face and surmount many difficulties. Christopher Sower was no exception. The way in which he overcame them is a testimony to his fortitude of character and his dynamic vision of service to his fellow men. A few of these obstacles will be mentioned in this brief sketch. It is difficult for us in this age of scientific method and mass production to see just what an immense undertaking it was to print a Bible in his day. Skilled labor was scarce, financial aid was hard to get, and type had to be imported until Sower was able to manufacture some for himself. He also manufactured his own printer's ink of high quality, and made some of his own paper when Benjamin Franklin "cornered the paper market" to cut off his competitor's supply. George Whitefield, the famous English evangelist, was friendly with Sower in Germantown and learning of his attempt to print a Bible and the difficulties of getting paper, "agreed to write to the London Charity Organization urging that it supply the paper needed for the edition of 1200 copies of the Bible."[12] Another difficulty was to know the correct number of Bibles to print. Sower therefore appealed to his customers to help decide this question, promising to make a public reckoning of his costs and sales, for "I would rather serve my fellow men and God in this wise than lay aside a great earthly treasure for myself, or for my at present twenty-year-old son, who is of the same opinion as myself."[13] Besides these material obstacles we have evidence that he also suffered that which every pioneer has to undergo, i. e., the opposition of some of his best friends, which was overcome, as already cited, by the efficient way in which he ran his business. The monumental work of Christopher Sower was the publication of the first Bible in an European language to be printed in America, completed in 1743. In view of the many obstacles to be overcome this accomplishment alone places him among the important pioneers of our nation.

Christopher Sower died September 25, 1758 at the age of sixty-four years. According to his expressed desire, his son, who had worked with him and learned the trade well, took over the business of his father. He continued the high religious purposes in making

12. Rumball-Petre: *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
13. *Loc. cit.*

his press a real agency for service. He says in the first issue of the newspaper published after his father's death that he finds "it laid upon me for God and for my neighbor's sake, to continue it" until he was able to get a helper who "could not be moved, either for money or flattery, to print anything that would not honor God and contribute to the country's welfare."[14] This high purpose is well shown in his sense of responsibility which caused him to title his newspaper in 1766, "True and Probable Happenings." He would fill an important need in our world today in the field of newspaper journalism. His newspaper was a worthy follower of his father's first permanent newspaper in the German language to be printed in America. Both father and son wielded a strong influence among the people of their generation, their newspapers having a very wide circulation.

Christopher Sower, Jr., continued the work of his father until it was halted by the Revolutionary War in 1777. It is not necessary to recite for the reader the many accomplishments of his press, the most outstanding being the publication of the Bibles of 1763 and 1776. An interesting chapter for our times could be written concerning his conscientious objection to war and his writings against it. He was a genuine patriot, but suffered as a martyr to his beliefs because he was misunderstood. He suffered personal persecution as well as financial loss. He might have retrieved a part of his loss from England, as did his son, Christopher Sower III, but it was against his religion to undertake litigation in the courts. His goods was sold at public auction, some of it being confiscated. Sower asked for some of his personal belongings, but was given only his spectacles. Most readers are likely well acquainted with many of the misfortunes of the younger Sower at the time of the destruction of his press during the Battle of Germantown. It was commonly believed that practically all of the 1776 edition of Bibles was destroyed by the cavalry using the sheets for bedding for their horses. One significant fact, overlooked by most other writers, has been pointed out by Rumball-Petre, namely that the Battle of Germantown was fought on October 4, 1777, and was therefore too late a date for the destruction of the greater part of an edition of 3000 Bibles which were published in 1776, a whole year before the battle.[15]

14. Brumbaugh: *Op. cit.*, p. 399.
15. Rumball-Petre: *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

From Sower's own account, as well as from the accounts of all historians who have written on the subject, we know that the persecution which he endured was shameful and severe. One story of particular interest is told by Thomas, and is recited here, not because the writer believes it to be true, but because it does signify that a particular greatness attaches to those about whom such stories are told, especially in the generation that gives them birth. This graphic story follows:

> One circumstance, rather extraordinary took place at this time, which has often been mentioned, and the fact attested, both by his friends and those who were then his political enemies. He was denuded at the camp by the soldiers, then arrayed in tattered regimentals and paraded. His pantaloons were seized by a soldier who put them on his own limbs. A short time after, this soldier was seized with agonizing pains in all parts of his body, and exclaimed: "I can neither live nor die! I am in torment. Take off the old man's trowsers that I may die!" They were taken off, and the soldier presently expired. The cause that produced the pains and sudden death of the soldier is not stated. By some of the friends of Sower, who esteemed him a saint, this incident was thought to be a judgment of God for the cruelty with which he had been treated.[16]

To get a proper appraisal of the Sower press and its significance one must read some of the literature of the period. This brief article can give but a sample. One of the finest tributes is that of Brumbaugh. He points out that the books in the home, the family Bible, the almanac, the music, the religious magazine, the secular newspaper, the ink and stationery, the stove, the medicine, the clock,—all of them were the product of the Sower press and the Sower manufactures. He points out the many other acts of service which were constantly coming from the Good Samaritan of Germantown and his son. If the reader has access to a copy of Bishop's "A History of American Manufactures" cited before, he will get "the feel" of the size and the significance of the Sower business. This one paragraph is typical: "The book manufactory of Christopher Sower the second, was for many years by far the most extensive in the British American Colonies. It employed several binderies, a paper-mill, and ink manufactory, and a foundry for German and English types."[17] Truly we can be justly proud of the high purposes and the accomplishments of the founders of Dunker publishing.

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16. Thomas: *History of Printing in America,* Vol. I, p. 276.
17. Bishop: *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 182.

The Heirs to the Sower Press

Although Christopher Sower III, oldest son of Sower, Jr., had worked with his father and learned the trade, the Sower press was not continued under the family name. His son did not have the same spirit as the father but soon became involved in the war because he was an avowed Loyalist. The Sower press was continued for a time by Peter Leibert who purchased a part of the materials at the Sower sale. Leibert took in his son-in-law, Michael Billmeyer, a Lutheran, and this partnership lasted until 1787. Schreiber, who was a bookbinder, was also a partner for a time. Leibert continued printing until 1797, and to him belongs the honor of having printed the first hymnbook for the Brethren. An added insight is given into the character of Peter Leibert by this incident: A man by the name of John Dunlop had also purchased a part of the Sower business at the sale, and was selling some of the sheets of unbound Bibles for cartridge paper. Leibert, being of the same faith as Sower, went to Philadelphia and "repurchased them" to keep them from being so desecrated.[18] In 1791 Leibert's son, William, became a partner in the business. The Leibert press continued until about 1797, and "with the close of the Leibert press, the leadership of the Dunkers as producers and disseminators of literature came to an end."[19]

The Ephrata Press

No chapter on the beginnings of Dunker publishing would be complete without a word about the Ephrata press. Thomas says that not only the press at Germantown, but also the press at Ephrata was established by pious friends in Europe. He is the same authority for the fact that this press began work in Ephrata under the direction of Peter Miller about 1746. Miller wrote and published some books, the paper for which was also manufactured at Ephrata. His biggest work was a two volume publication of 1428 pages, on which he worked for a period of two years. During this time he slept only four hours daily, and lived the ascetic life of a monk, sleeping on a wooden bench and wooden block for a pillow. It is said that Peter Miller learned the printing art from the second Christopher Sower. He in turn taught a son, William Miller, the trade. Peter Miller was a very learned man, a graduate of Heidelberg University and

18. Rumball-Petre: *Op. cit.*, p. 57.
19. Flory: *Literary Activities of the Brethren*, p. ix.

well equipped to make Ephrata "the second great centre of the German-American printing and bookmaking trade in America. It was equalled by none and surpassed only by the Sower press at Germantown."[20]

CHAPTER II

THE REVIVAL OF DUNKER PRINTING

The one individual who stands foremost in the revival of printing following the "slump" of half a century is unquestionably Elder Henry Kurtz. After two former attempts to publish a paper in 1833 and 1836, he finally launched the first copy of what was to become the parent of the permanent church paper. This first copy of the paper called "The Gospel Visitor" is dated April 1, 1851, and was a monthly. It was a difficult job to launch this "new" enterprise among the none-too-receptive Brethren. The new book, "Meet Henry Kurtz" by H. A. Brandt, to be referred to later, will help the reader to re-live the years through which Henry Kurtz had to work on his new venture. Some of his difficulties are also evident in the minutes of Annual Meeting, showing that Annual Meeting from 1851 to 1853, "progressed" from "not forbidding Bro. Henry Kurtz to go on with the paper for one year," to the recognition that inasmuch as "the Visitor is a private undertaking of its editor, we unanimously conclude that this meeting should not any further interfere with it."[21] Surely this was anything but encouragement and we can readily understand why Henry Kurtz wrote in 1853 after returning from the Yearly Meeting: "The Yearly Meeting has again declared that it is none of its business to interfere with the private affairs of members, and the Gospel Visitor may continue on his course, if not rejoicing, at least unmolested, yet with fear and trembling."[22] Only because Elder Kurtz was a man who "possessed the training, viewpoint and ability which enabled him to determine the outlook of a denomination" and because "he had the patience, tact and skills required to bring a vision to reality when others were content with things as they were" did he succeed in the face of such lack of encouragement.[23] His significance lies in this spirit which brought about the revival of printing in our brotherhood. He, too, overcame many

20. Brumbaugh: *Op. cit.*, p. 456.
21. *Classified Minutes of Annual Conference*, p. 323.
22. Brandt, H. A.: *Meet Henry Kurtz*, p. 109.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

obstacles, but with determination and untiring energy, and working with simple equipment in the small springhouse near Poland, Ohio, he was finally successful in placing the first permanent church paper on a solid basis. In his declining years he also printed and published the Brethren Encyclopedia. Like the pioneer publisher of the Brethren, he too taught his sons the trade, but they did not carry through the vocation of their father. Space does not permit the credit that Elder Kurtz deserves in such a paper. He ranks high in any rating of Dunker publishers.

Among the several men associated with the Gospel Visitor was one who became famous as an editor of our church papers. This man was Elder James Quinter, who came into the office of the Gospel Visitor in 1856 as assistant editor. Quinter not only lived up to the high expectations of the editor of the Visitor, but continued with the church paper through several mergers, staying in the editorial chair until the end of his life. "Probably no man among us ever did more for the Church of the Brethren than did Bro. Quinter" is the high tribute paid him in the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Brethren Publishing Interests Number of the Gospel Messenger for November 25, 1911. He died while kneeling in prayer on the Annual Meeting platform at North Manchester, Indiana, in 1888.

Another product of the Kurtz office was the person of Henry R. Holsinger who was one of the most brilliant minds among the Brethren. Holsinger was brought into the Visitor office because among his other high qualifications he was also able to speak and read the German language. He came to the Visitor in the fall of 1856, but remained only long enough to learn the art of printing from his good teacher. Brother Holsinger has a brilliant record among the Brethren, marred only by the fact that he did not possess the patience that is so necessary to keep men of far vision from breaking with the present. Believing that the Visitor should be a weekly instead of a monthly, and not willing to wait until Kurtz agreed to make the change, he left the Visitor office and in 1864 began publishing the Christian Family Companion, the first weekly paper among the Brethren. He unwisely made this paper a sort of forum which would receive and publish debatable material on the policies of the church. This editorial policy was certain to bring him into conflict with the church in a day when publishing was still in question among many of the members. The result of this policy is borne out in the Annual Meeting Minutes of these years. The Minutes of 1873 required

the editor of the paper, with some others, to acknowledge their mistakes and to be more guarded in the future in the publishing of articles that differed with the policies of the church. In 1870 Holsinger had also begun a small paper called "Pious Youth" which was soon discontinued for want of patronage. In 1873 he sold the Christian Family Companion to Elder James Quinter and it was merged with the Gospel Visitor.

Bro. J. W. Beer should also receive recognition as an associate on the Christian Family Companion. He was a man of outstanding ability as a writer. He went with the Progressive Brethren, as did Elder Holsinger, at the time of the tragic schism. Brother Holsinger took with him his outstanding talent and became the leader of the Progressive Brethren, editing their official paper, the Progressive Christian, which he began about 1878. Although changed in name the paper is still the organ of this branch of our brotherhood.

Two other men of note were also associated with Holsinger in his editorial and publishing work. These were Howard Miller and S. H. Bashor. Howard Miller was at one time the owner of the paper, but later turned it back to Holsinger, at which time Brother Bashor was taken in as associate editor.

James A. Sell was also associated with Holsinger at one time during 1866. He was also an author of several well-received works, one of which was a volume of original poems. His name deserves mention in any listing of Dunker publishers.

After the success of Kurtz's weekly Companion, another weekly was inaugurated by Brethren Henry B. and John B. Brumbaugh, with Elder George Brumbaugh as associate editor. This paper was called the Pilgrim, and appeared for the first time on January 1, 1870. The paper was published in the East, most of the time at Huntingdon, Pa. The editors felt the need of a liberal paper, yet the ideas were presented in such a way that no antagonism was aroused among its readers. The Brumbaugh brothers have had an important place in the publication of our church papers. Elder H. B. Brumbaugh also was an author and wrote a little book called "Onesimus" which had a wide circulation. Both of them furnished writings for our church papers for many years and were interested in the educational progress of the church, the founding of Juniata College being largely credited to them.

The next publication of the Brethren, around which there is a cluster of Dunker publishers, was the Brethren at Work. Brother

J. T. Myers of Germantown had been publishing the Brethren's Messenger for a short time, and not proving successful in the new venture, decided to move to Lanark, Illinois, and then publish two papers instead of one, one in English and the other in German. The German paper was to be known as Der Bruderbote, and the English paper, the Brethren at Work. Both of these were to be edited and published by J. H. Moore, J. T. Myers, M. M. Eshelman, with R. H. Miller, J. W. Stein, Daniel Vaniman, and Mattie A. Lear as associates.[24] This paper became the weekly of the West, making two prominent church weeklies, the other being the above-mentioned Pilgrim, which had become combined with the Primitive Christian. These two weeklies finally merged in June 1883 into our well-known Gospel Messenger, which became the property of the church in 1897.

Other names associated with the Brethren at Work were Joseph Amick and D. L. Miller, the latter standing out as one of the best informed editors of our publications. He traveled much, having been abroad seven times, five of which were spent in the Holy Land, and two around the world. Brother L. A. Plate also worked in the office of the Pilgrim, later in the printing department of the Brethren at Work, and in his last years served in the work of publishing the Gospel Messenger. According to Howard Miller, Brethren S. J. Harrison and L. M. Eby were partners of Eshelman in 1879. All of these served well in these responsibilities of helping in the publication of our church papers. Elder J. H. Moore is one who deserves some special attention. He was a self-educated man, but very efficient. He served as editor of both the Brethren at Work and the Gospel Messenger, having served in these offices a total of over thirty years. He was succeeded in this office by the present editor, Brother Edward Frantz, who with the associate editor, Brother H. A. Brandt, is carrying on the high Dunker ideals in our church paper.

This brief sketch of the evolution of our church paper has shown the high purposes which dominated those who had the vision and the patience to bring to fruition an official church-owned paper. The Gospel Messenger is a good embodiment of the ideals which these pioneers envisioned for the church.

In tracing the chief publications others have been overlooked. These others will be enumerated in order to get the names associated

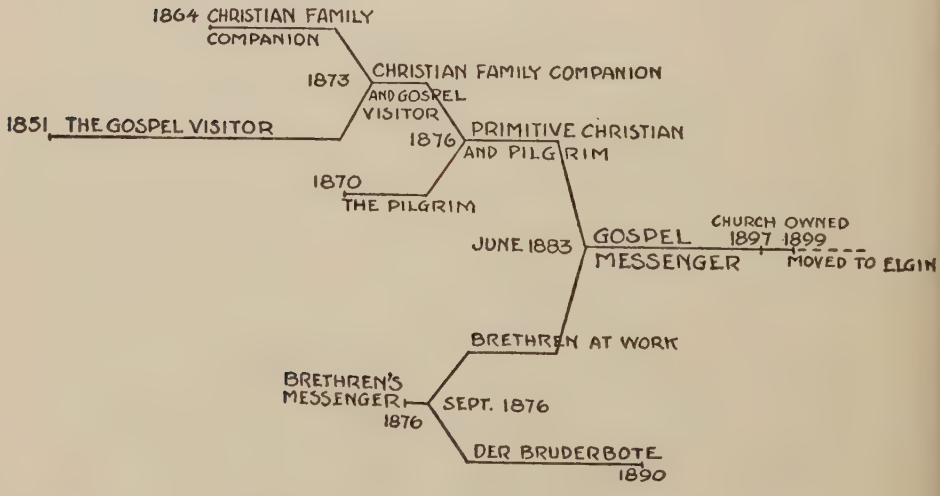
24. *Gospel Messenger* article, April 5, 1941, by D. L. Miller.

with them—including others who were interested in the publishing of a paper for the church, but who were not so fortunate to meet with the success of those already mentioned. No attempt is made to give a complete list, nor any of the details concerning these papers, since a much fuller treatment may be found in other sources available to the reader. The Bicentennial Addresses, chapter on Publications, Elgin S. Moyer's "History of Missions," and Galen Ogden's B.D. Thesis have been helpful in making this list of publications. The publications of the brotherhood follow, together with the date of publication, and the names of those responsible for publishing.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE BROTHERHOOD

1851—*The Gospel Visitor.* Henry Kurtz and his son, H. J. Kurtz; James Quinter; Henry R. Holsinger.
1864—*The Christian Family Companion.* H. R. Holsinger; James Quinter; J. W. Beer; James A. Sell; Howard Miller; S. H. Bashor.
1870—*The Pilgrim.* H. B. and J. B. Brumbaugh; George Brumbaugh.
1870—*The Pious Youth.* H. R. Holsinger.
1870—*The Vindicator.* Samuel Kinsey to 1883; Joseph I. Cover, 1883-1889; Henry and John Garber, 1889-1894; and J. M. Kimmel to the present time. This is the official paper of the Old Order Brethren.
1873—*The Gospel Trumpet.* John Flory and Benjamin Funk.
1873—*The Christian Family Companion and Gospel Visitor.* James Quinter.
1876—*The Young Disciple.* H. B. and J. B. Brumbaugh.
1876—*The Brethren's Messenger.* J. T. Myers.
1876—*The Brethren at Work.* J. H. Moore; J. T. Myers; M. M. Eshelman, and associate editors as named before.
1876—*Der Bruderbote.* Brethren at Work staff were publishers.
1878—*Brethren's Advocate.* D. H. Fahrney.
1878—*The Progressive Christian.* H. R. Holsinger; J. W. Beer; Howard Miller revived the paper in 1880; was called the *Brethren Evangelist* in 1883 when it became the official paper of the Progressive Brethren.
1879—*The Gospel Preacher.* S. Z. Sharp; S. H. Bashor; J. H. Worst; united with the Progressive Christian to become the Brethren Evangelist.
1879—*Our Sunday School.* S. Z. Sharp; David Emmert; Sister Libbie Leslie.
—*The Youth's Advance.* (Date uncertain). M. M. Eshelman. Merged with *Our Sunday School* in 1882.
1879—*The Brethren's Quarterly.* S. Z. Sharp; L. Huber; James M. Neff; Lewis W. Teeter; I. B. Trout.
1882—*The Family Companion.* J. H. Moore. Short duration.
—*The Deacon.* (Date uncertain). P. H. Beaver. Short duration.
1883—*The Gospel Messenger.* James Quinter; H. B. Brumbaugh; D. L. Miller; J. H. Moore; Edward Frantz.
1885—*Golden Dawn.* Brumbaugh brothers and Wealthy A. Clarke.

1885—*The School and Home.* J. G. Royer and Son.
1888—*Educator and Companion.* J. M. Snyder.
1894—*The Missionary Visitor.* Mt Morris, Ill.
1895—(Vol. IV, No. 3, July 1895), *The Home Helper.* Monthly. "For the Instruction and Entertainment of the Home." James M. Neff, Editor and Publisher, Mt. Morris, Ill.
1897—*Missionary Advocate.* Sisters' Aid Society of Frederick City, Maryland. Sister R. L. Rinehart, president and editor. Published one year.
1898—*The Inglenook.* Brethren Publishing House.
1899—*The Land Mark.* Howard Miller and John E. Mohler.
1899—*The Pilot.* Brethren Publishing House, Grant Mahan, editor. Called *Inglenook* in 1900 with Howard Miller, editor.
1900—*The Petitioner.* James M. Neff. Short duration.
1922—*The Bible Monitor.* B. E. Kesler. Became the official paper of the Dunkard Brethren in 1926 and is published by them to the present time.
1925—*Florida Live Wires.* J. H. Morris. 1925 to 1931.
1939—*The Brethren Missionary Herald.* Louis S. Bauman; Alva J. McClain; R. Paul Miller; Mrs. A. B. Kidder.
1939—*Schwarzenau.* Published by the Alexander Mack Historical Society, Floyd E. Mallott, editor.
—*The Children's Paper.* (Date not available; but early) H. J. Kurtz, Dayton, Ohio.
—*The Home Mirror.* John S. Flory.
—*The Western Herald.* About 1880. A. W. Vaniman. Devoted to health, science, farming, morals, and matters of general interest.



"FAMILY TREE" OF THE GOSPEL MESSENGER DRAWN IN SCALE

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLISHERS

There are a few publishers who published as individuals and were therefore not included in the enumeration of those who were associated with the church periodicals. Some of the names of our own time were obtained through the use of a questionnaire, and some few names were obtained from reliable sources, but no information concerning the work of the individual was available at the time of this writing. Those whom we have good reason to believe should be included in the list of Dunker publishers follow.

" 'A Choice Selection of Hymns for the Glory of Christ' is the title of a volume published in 1814 at Mathetchy, Pa., by Abraham Krupp, who was a member of the Brethren Church."[25] This is all that we know about Brother Krupp as a publisher.

Peter Nead is one of the earliest of the authors of books in our church, and is listed here as a publisher as well as an author because he undertook the publication of his own books, a common practice in earlier times. His first book, "Primitive Christianity," was published in 1833. His "Theology" is also well known.

Isaac Price, an elder in the church, "was favored with a good education which he employed successfully in teaching and also in publishing a paper."[26] This paper was a newspaper, the "Lafayette Aurora," published at Pottstown, Pa., in 1825. Brother Price was joint-editor and joint-proprietor.[27]

Coming down to our own day we note the work of Brother William S. Livengood, Meyersdale, Pa., as a newspaper publisher, using as his motto: "Not a Mere Newspaper—A Community Service." This sounds as if the spirit of Christopher Sower still lives. His daughter, Mrs. Frances L. Imler, is business partner in the publication of this paper which is called the Meyersdale Republican. According to the publisher he began actual publication work by himself at the age of twenty-five, and has just passed his eightieth birthday, March 22, 1941. He has worked on no less than a dozen newspapers from coast to coast and from north to south, and expects to continue in his work until "the Grim Reaper gives me the '30' signal." Two of Brother Livengood's younger brothers were helped into the publishing business by their father,

25. Falkenstein: *History of the German Baptist Brethren,* p. 519.
26. Sharp: *Educational History of the Brethren,* p. 42.
27. Cable and Sanger: *Educational Blue Book,* p. 554.

and are likely members of the same church, although this information is not available at present.

Brother Walter Wallick, of Dayton, Ohio, who died in 1935, was also a publisher, having been for twenty-five years engaged in the business and having served as associate editor of "The Inland Printer." His early death at the age of forty-one likely cut short a future in his chosen vocation.

Brother John M. Fogelsanger, who before his death in 1936, lived at Germantown, Pa., was the publisher of a monthly magazine called "New Ideals." "For a period of from ten to twenty years the circulation of this magazine was very large, carrying with it a considerable mail-order business. I cannot give the exact circulation, but I would judge that it was about 100,000, or perhaps more."[28] Brother Fogelsanger spent over a quarter of a century in the publishing business. He was also a gardener of some note.

Brother Edgar Rothrock, of Pomona, Cal., in addition to being an active pastor in the church, has done some publishing of work which he has also edited and written, especially booklets for the comforting of the sorrowful. Brother Rothrock also gives the information that his grandfather, "Philip Rothrock, the original emigrant, printed colonial currency for the Continental Congress about 1779." He also names a "Mr. Coates in Los Angeles who publishes the Peace Digest" as another publisher who is a member of the church.

In Louisville, Ohio, 1223 East Main Street, the writer recently met Brother Louis P. Clapper, a member of the Progressive Brethren, who has been a publisher for over thirty-five years. He is both the editor and the publisher of "The Louisville Herald," one of those smaller, but influential community newspapers, to which every home turns for its local news.

Brother Will Judy, president of the Judy Publishing Company, 3323 Michigan Boulevard, Chicago, finishes the list of our present day publishers, as far as they are known to the writer. His company publishes books for bookstores and libraries, but the president, Mr. Judy, is better known as editor of the magazine "Dog World." This magazine, according to the editor, "has a paid ABC circulation of 19,915 monthly, and leads twenty-one other American dog publications in advertising and circulation. It employs a staff of

28. From Sister Ross D. Murphy, a sister of Bro. Fogelsanger.

nineteen persons. The company owns its own modern four-story building at the address given." Brother Judy has also written in other fields, a book of essays called "Men and Things" and "A Soldier's Diary." He gave the name of Nile C. Smith, 415 West Chicago. Avenue, Chicago, who "for years issued a very famous work, the North American Almanac, a bound book which sold approximately 125,000 copies a year. He is a member of the Church of the Brethren."

There are perhaps over two dozen others who would be called publishers by the technical definition of the word, such as those who have written books, or one book, and published it themselves. Some of these, Otho Winger, H. K. Ober, Perry L. Rohrer, and others, are far better known for other church activities than they are as publishers, so will not be listed here.

CHAPTER III

PUBLISHERS AND PROGRESS

It is not difficult to imagine what the Church of the Brethren would be today if it had not been for the revival of the publishing interests. We look back in admiration to the Sower Press. We look with a certain dismay at the period following its destruction. What has the press done for our church? That is difficult to say exactly. It may be result as much as it is a cause, as Moyer suggests: "Missions, education, and the press have had a close interrelationship. One could hardly have arisen without the others."[29] Dove also says that the "cultural patterns of the Brethren have undergone remarkable liberalization and the church press is a very significant factor in bringing about the change."[30]

It may be true that the church would have developed her missionary spirit without the press, but it would have been much slower. It is difficult to see how any organization as widespread as our church membership at present could well retain its unity and spirit and action without the printed page which is read weekly in most of our homes.

The many publications which were begun in the years 1850 to 1880 were a symptom as well as an expression of the restless spirit among the leaders of the Brethren. A similar change was coming

29. Moyer: *Missions in the Church of the Brethren,* p. 62.
30. Dove: *Cultural Changes in the Church of the Brethren,* p. 126.

over all of America, and the church, if it was to grow, had to adapt itself to the new culture. H. C. Early estimated that the membership of the church in 1851 was not over 14,000. He points out the approval of Sunday schools, the approval of missions, and the opening of colleges, all of them following the revival of the press in the church. He concludes: "The revival of the publishing business marks an epoch in the history of the Church of the Brethren and following this, there has been the most rapid growth and expansion of all her great interests."[31] There were no doubt other factors responsible for this growth, but the proper credit is given the press.

With the competition eliminated through our church-owned Gospel Messenger there should continue to be a progressive and unified expression of the ideals of the church. There is great need today that these ideals should pervade our communities and the world, just as the Sower Press was so influential in its day.

Most permanent institutions have had a literature. Not only have they been literature-producing, but also literature-guided. This has been especially true with Christianity, and is certainly a big factor in its growing strength. Therefore we need to be seriously concerned with the kind of literature published and circulated by the church, as well as the amount of published materials. A heavy responsibility for the future permanence and further growth of the church rests upon those who publish our reading diet. May the ideals of our pioneer Dunker publishers not be lost in the confusion of our times!

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31. *Gospel Messenger* article, November 25, 1911.

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

By William M. Beahm

WILLIAM M. BEAHM, now on the Bethany faculty, was active in the campus work of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, from the time he became a member in 1916. He participated in the re-organization of the United Student Volunteers of the Church of the Brethren in 1919 and served as their traveling secretary in 1922-23. In 1923-24 he traveled in the Southwestern and Pacific states for the Student Volunteer Movement, after which he sailed for Africa where thirteen years were spent in missionary service. His paper in this issue is the result of his special study of the Student Volunteer Movement and is felt to be of interest to our readers for two reasons. First, because the enthusiastic students who opened and carried on our missions in India, China, and Africa, were nearly all Student Volunteers and received their zeal from this Movement. Secondly, because this Movement had much to do with the rise of the Volunteer organization of our own church.

It is the purpose of this study to show that the rise of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was a phenomenon based upon certain dominant religious and social forces of the late nineteenth century. These forces were given effective unity and expression by the leaders of the S. V. M. through their program and ideology. The program included the dissemination of missionary information among students, the securing of personal commitment to foreign missions as a life work, and the inducing of these "Student Volunteers" to take permanent service under the foreign mission boards and societies of the Protestant Churches. The Movement[1] provided a unifying and expansive objective in its watchword, "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." From a position of early criticism and misgiving, this watchword came to be the tacit aim of the entire Protestant missionary enterprise. This great task was laid upon the students in schools of higher learning in the direct form of a personal challenge to sign the Movement's declaration card, "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary." This signature was regarded in the highly religious terms of being the response to the call of God. Every student was expected to face this issue and respond to it positively, or else to be able to show that God had given a definite call elsewhere.

As a result of this program and these ideological emphases, the Movement enrolled, between 1886 and 1936, just under 50,000 Student Volunteers, of which number over 13,000 actually sailed to

1. The terms "S. V. M." or "Movement" will be used equivalently. The term "student Christian movement" will be used as a general name for all similar organizations taken as a whole.

the foreign fields of missionary service. These workers served either under the Church boards or under some form of interdenominational agency related to the churches. During this fifty year period approximately half of the missionaries sent out were Student Volunteers. The peak year was in 1908 when two thirds of the missionaries appointed were members of the Movement.

The Movement increased in influence until after the world war when it began a rapid decline. By 1940 it had almost ceased to be a decisive factor either in student religious life or in the promotion of the missionary program of the churches. It will appear from this study that this decline can be traced largely to the radical shift or decline of those religious and social forces upon which the Movement was originally based.

Several other studies have recently been made, which have dealt with those aspects of the Movement's history and development relating to the other parts of the student Christian movement.[2] As compared with them, the contribution of the present study lies in the following areas: It centers its concern not in the general student Christian movement—the early voluntary student religious societies, the student Y. M. C. A., the student Y. W. C. A., and related organizations—but in the specific movement and organization known as the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.[3] This Movement is dealt with in the light of an exhaustive examination of all the records available and brings it to the year 1940, when its almost complete decline can be regarded as the end of an era. The subject is treated not merely in terms of the historic sequence of events but also with an attempt to interpret the dynamic aspects of its development. This study deals with the S. V. M. not merely as an aspect of the general student Christian movement, but with special reference to the total missionary program of the churches. This missionary program is seen to have been a great prior movement whose expanding program and characteristic ideology were introduced into the nascent student Christian movement. This was true in many ways and was effected by various men. Its most char-

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2. Clarence P. Shedd, *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements,* Association Press, New York, 1934. This was originally the substance of a Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1932.

3. William H. Morgan, *Student Religion During Fifty Years,* Association Press, New York, 1935. This was originally the substance of a Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University.

acteristic form was in the S. V. M., and the most specific agent was Robert P. Wilder, the founder of the S. V. M.

Significant Characteristics of the Late Nineteenth Century

The late nineteenth century was marked by many characteristics which favored the rise of the S. V. M. It was a period of expansion, particularly of the Protestant nations and under the dominance of Britain. There was increasing rapprochement between Britain and America which developed a sense of common destiny for the Anglo-Saxon peoples. This political expansion was correlated with rapid commercial expansion and facilitated by the development of a world-wide system of travel and communication. By the end of the century this expansion of the west was matched by a similar interest of the orient in the civilization of the west. While it would be unfair to say that nineteenth century missions were merely the religious phase of this political and economic expansion, yet this unifying of the world's political and economic structure greatly facilitated the expansion of Christianity during this period.

American life was marked by the closing of the frontier and the turning of interest toward the growing cities and the world horizon. The schools of the middle west in particular developed rapidly and this area changed from being an object of eastern missionary effort, to becoming a source of outgoing missionary interest. There was a great increase of wealth among American Protestants as the cities grew and the country was developed. This gave rise to many merchant princes who, as laymen, became increasingly prominent in the life of the churches.

Traditional revivalism showed new vitality and improved quality, as exemplified in the amazing career of Dwight L. Moody. Frontier excesses were replaced by a quieter and more widespread evangelism centering in the cities and enlisting the interest of many laymen whose religious activities found characteristic expression in the Young Men's Christian Association. Moody's work issued in a large influx of new members into the churches. But it went further and took the form of conferences for the deepening of the spiritual life. This latter movement emphasized the authority of the Scriptures, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the dedication of life to religious work.

The Maturing of the Foreign Missionary Movement

Foreign missions began in America twenty years later than in England. They were inaugurated here as the result of a band of students at Williams College who, led by Samuel J. Mills, founded in 1806-08 the student "Society of Brethren." This original "Haystack Band" dedicated their lives "to effect in the persons of its members a mission or missions to the heathen." As a result of their insistent desire to become foreign missionaries, there was organized in 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This board was followed by the organization of others so that by 1888, fifty-eight American societies sent delegates to the Centenary Conference in London. A third of these boards or societies were women's organizations. The American Board itself increased in strength. Its income for 1811 was $999.52 but by 1884 it had increased to $588,353.51. By that time foreign missions could point to successful results in India, China, Africa, and the South Sea Islands. Moreover new openings were beckoning in new and inland areas and these were regarded as providential calls to missionary expansion. This led by 1885 to an ambitious and concerted plan to co-ordinate all Protestant missionary endeavor so as to proclaim the gospel message to every person in the whole world.[4]

The Emergence of The Student Christian Movement

It had been hoped that the "Haystack Band" would grow into an organized intercollegiate movement. It did flourish at Andover Seminary both as a "Society of Inquiry" and as a smaller society of men pledged to become missionaries. Similar societies did spring up in several schools but conditions were not yet ripe for an organized movement to develop. It was in 1877 that the growing Y. M. C. A. movement had taken sufficient hold of student life to organize its intercollegiate department. Luther D. Wishard became the first college secretary and was instrumental in developing a flourishing movement with strong emphasis on Bible study, evangelism, and missions. In close connection with this work the college department of the Y. W. C. A. was organized in 1886. A more specifically missionary emphasis characterized the American Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance which was organized in 1880 among the theological

4. *The Missionary Review*, September 1885, see pp. 369-370, "A Plan to Evangelize the World", by Arthur T. Pierson.

schools. Their annual conventions were strongly influential in crystallizing missionary thought and in laying the missionary obligation upon students. This Alliance was limited to graduate students but furnished leadership for the S. V. M. when the latter awakened the missionary interest of the undergraduate world. The S. V. M. was to become the missionary aspect of the general and nascent student Christian movement. To the general interest in evangelism, missions, Bible study, and consecration, the S. V. M. added its own peculiar emphases. This addition included the strong emphasis upon foreign as against home missions, the interpretation of consecration in terms of definite volunteering for foreign missions, and the formulation of a watchword which served as a unifying objective for the student movement and the church. This slogan was world wide in its scope but was so interpreted as to intensify the foreign missionary obligation.

The Mount Hermon Conference of 1886

Moody had begun to do work among students in connection with his other evangelistic campaigns. In Britain, especially at Oxford and Cambridge, he was instrumental in leading numbers of capable and favored students into definitely religious work. Seven of these from Cambridge were influenced by Hudson Taylor to go to China in 1885 under the China Inland Mission. This story of the "Cambridge Seven" was told in American colleges during the year 1885-86 by J. E. K. Studd. He was a brother of a leading member of the "Seven" and came to America as a guest of Mr. Moody. While Studd was here Moody met also with Luther Wishard and C. K. Ober of the intercollegiate department of the Y. M. C. A. Out of this meeting grew Moody's agreement to invite students from all the schools to attend a Summer Conference for Bible Study. It was to meet July 1-31, 1886 at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, at Moody's school for boys, and under his leadership. It was attended by 251 delegates from eighty-eight schools in twenty-two states and Canada. Among these delegates was John R. Mott, a Cornell sophomore from Iowa, who had been led into a deep religious consecration the previous winter by Studd, and who was destined to become the outstanding leader of missionary interests both in the student movements and in the churches across the world. Another delegate was Robert P. Wilder, a Princeton senior, born in India of eager missionary parents, and now burning with zeal for the inauguration of a

movement which would lead a thousand students to become missionaries.

The program was somewhat informal but specifically interested in Bible study and such methods of Christian work as are adapted to college life. No definite place was given to any missionary presentation, although both Wishard and Ober were eager for the Y. M. C. A. to promote a flourishing missionary movement. It was Wilder who introduced the strong missionary note into the Conference which issued in one hundred volunteers.

Wilder's father, Royal Gould Wilder, had served for thirty years in India as a Congregational, then an independent, and finally as a Presbyterian, missionary. His career was ended there in 1875 when his precarious health and desire to educate his children led him to settle in Princeton, New Jersey. His enthusiastic missionary passion and his independent missionary views were given expression in *The Missionary Review,* which he founded in 1878 and edited until his death ten years later. He criticized the Boards for their inefficient administration and urged an immediate doubling of all missionary forces. It was in this journal that the plan was first discussed for the evangelization of the world in the current generation. The plan was urged by such ardent pre-millennialists as Arthur T. Pierson and Royal Wilder himself. Not only did Royal Wilder urge this duty upon the churches, but he was eager for a movement to emerge among students to furnish the personnel for this great task. He had been a member of the "Brethren" at Andover Seminary. And he had induced both Grace and Robert to become passionately eager to return to India as missionaries. When Robert and others from Princeton attended the Alliance convention at Hartford in 1883 they conceived the plan for organizing a pledged society in their school. In the Wilder home they met and formed the Princeton College Foreign Missionary Society whose members signed the covenant father Wilder helped them to formulate: "We, the undersigned, declare ourselves willing and desirous, God permitting, to go to the Unevangelized portions of the world." This Society was limited to such covenanted members and its sole emphasis was upon foreign missions. Wilder went from Princeton to Mount Hermon in 1886 with a number of these comrades and with a mandate from his sister to start a movement of 100 Volunteers. The whole Wilder family was intensely confident in the power of prayer and followed Robert's

work with earnestness. So when Robert went to Mount Hermon, he went with definite aims and resources for spreading the Princeton plan to other colleges and raising up an army of Volunteers who would help to fulfill his father's expectation for the speedy evangelization of the world.

Robert worked in informal ways at first. He made personal contacts and called informal prayer groups and urged delegates to sign the Princeton declaration. Later he arranged for missionary presentations to be made in open meetings which aroused intense interest. These were followed up by the work of the growing band of Volunteers until, on the last morning, they secured their hundredth member. The dominant impression left on the whole delegate body was that God had worked in their midst and had done far more in answer to prayer than any of them could have accomplished. Accordingly this first intercollegiate Bible study conference became famous for the emergence of this new missionary movement which was to stir the student and church life of Protestant Christendom.

The Movement in The Colleges

It was immediately felt that the colleges should be challenged by the "Story of Mt. Hermon" as they had been earlier by the "Story of the Cambridge Seven." Wilder, Mott, and two others were chosen to spend the next year travelling in the colleges. A New York business man, who was present and felt this to be a work of God, promised the financial support. In the autumn of 1886 all but Wilder withdrew for various reasons. But he, in spite of his father's severe illness, agreed to go alone if necessary. He secured John Forman, also of Princeton and born of India missionary parents, to go with him. They visited 162 schools and secured over two thousand Volunteers. These two men were unprepossessing but they were genuinely religious and at Princeton in the Wilder home they had formulated many facts about missions and world conditions into an effective argument for their cause. In 1887-88 no one visited the schools but new names came in. In 1888-89 Wilder again visited the schools and in 1889-90 Robert Speer made the tour. Speer had been led to volunteer at Princeton when Wilder and Forman visited there. He had just now graduated with high honors. His eloquence and religious earnestness resulted in a total of 1100 new Volunteers in the 110 institutions he visited! By 1891, when the first Quadren-

nial Convention was held, there were 6200 names on the membership roll of the Movement.

The Organization and Program of the S. V. M.

It was two years after the Movement had been flourishing in informal and personal ways, that it was organized. Due to tendencies toward independent and irresponsible development the leaders of the Y. M. C. A. and the leading Volunteers organized the S. V. M. in 1888. They formed an executive committee by securing representatives of the other student Christian organizations. John R. Mott, who was now coming into prominence in the Y. M. C. A. as an intercollegiate secretary, became the chairman. He was a Volunteer but felt led to fulfill his purpose by giving the Y. M. C. A. a missionary aim. The Y. W. C. A. was represented by Nettie Dunn, a Volunteer from Michigan who had just become the first travelling secretary for the college work of the Y. W. C. A. Robert Wilder represented the Inter-seminary Alliance. Thus this new Movement was integrated with the other organizations which were flourishing on the campuses. It was conceived as the missionary department of the Christian Associations and the Volunteers on the local campuses were expected to be active in these Associations. The travelling secretaries were chosen each year from student Volunteers who were on their way to the mission field. An educational secretary was soon chosen—Harlan P. Beach of China—who inaugurated a stimulating and influential program of mission study. This program included the production of text books for voluntary study classes, the training of leaders for these classes, the enlargement of library literature on missions, and the enlistment and supervision of classes. In co-ordinating the work of travelling secretaries, the educational secretaries, and the individual Volunteers, Mott proved to be an indefatigable worker with the twin gifts of far vision and patient concern for details. Being employed by the Y. M. C. A. and also acting as chairman of the executive committee of the Movement (which position he held until 1920!) he was able to co-ordinate the various aspects of the total student Christian movement. Since his first love was the S. V. M. he was able to make its ideals and aims influential in this wider movement.

The First Three Quadrennial Conventions

After four and one half years of growth among students it was felt in 1891 that a convention should be held which would co-ordinate the work and interest of the Volunteers among themselves, and also which would relate them more effectively with the boards and societies of the churches. This Convention was the first of a series which made the Movement widely known on the campuses and throughout the country. On the campuses, the work of the Volunteers had been promoted through the Christian Associations, but this Convention was under the direct administration of the officers of the Movement and as such it grew to be the biggest event in the student world. Moreover the Movement's watchword, which was emblazoned across the Convention platform, came to be the united objective of the total student Christian movement. So these Conventions were to fill a large place in the life and development of the Movement. At this first one there were 680 delegates and leaders in attendance. By the time the third one was held, in Cleveland again, in 1898 the attendance had increased to 2221.

The Ideology of the S. V. M.

The work of the S. V. M. was set within the religious orthodoxy of its time and drew strength from its emphasis upon the authority of the Scriptures, the power and importance of prayer, the deity and authority of Christ, the necessity of conversion for salvation, the consequent importance of evangelism, and the need for deeper consecration of wealth and life to Christian work. Beyond these emphases, the Movement laid great stress upon the much greater need and opportunity in the foreign field, and the need for each student to face this need and plan his life accordingly. Students were now supposed to give a reason why they were called to stay at home and to assume the great commission applied to foreign missions in particular. This pressure was laid on students in terms of the Movement's declaration card. And the fulfillment of this declaration of purpose to become a foreign missionary, if God permit, was regarded as a maximum and direct contribution to the Movement's great objective: The evangelization of the world in this generation.

This watchword grew out of an earlier background of pre-millennial expectation but after it was adopted by the Movement, it was expounded and promoted by Mott who gave it a comprehensive in-

terpretation as the permanent goal of the Christian forces in the world. By 1900-10 he had secured tacit acceptance of it as a working ideal, by the world-wide student Christian movement and by the co-operating forces of Christian missionary expansion. This watchword served to gather up into a specific slogan many of the basic trends and ideals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its emphasis upon evangelism was relevant to the whole movement of revivalism. It expressed the growing ambitions of the expanding missionary forces. The imperialism of Protestant nations found partial expression in this slogan of world conquest. While the watchword was first suggested by Pierson from a pre-millennialist point of view, it gave expression also to the growing belief in progress. The dominant mood of the S. V. M. was one of optimism, and it was felt that a new and successful era of progress among the nations was being ushered in by the evangelizing work of the church. The Movement assumed, and was able to lead others to assume, that foreign mission endeavor was the fulfillment of Christendom's destiny.

The Period of Expanding Achievement: 1900-20

During the first two decades of the twentieth century the Movement continued to expand along the lines of the program and ideology which characterized it in the early formative period from 1886 to 1900. The general political and economic movements were likewise expansive in their outlook. Up to the time of the world war the mood of American life was hopeful. The forces which were beginning to create difficulties did not overtake the mission program until after the war was over. The Protestant societies sent out from America 480 new missionaries in 1903 but by 1920 this figure reached 1731—an all time peak. The fifteen leading Protestant societies spent in 1901 a total of $5,300,100 for foreign missions, but in 1920 the total was $29,671,076. This growth in scope was paralleled by a similar growth in unity and co-operation which reached definitive expression in the Edinburgh missionary conference of 1910. Moreover the Movement's leaders came to have a larger place in responsible missionary circles. For Mott was chairman of this 1910 conference and began his vigorous career as a worldwide missionary statesman. His leadership of the expanding missionary forces did not interfere with his continued leadership of the S. V. M. and vigorous promotion of the Y. M. C. A. program. Indeed he was able to

co-ordinate these various movements so that they all pointed in the direction of fulfilling the watchword of the Movement. During this period the missionary outlook unified both the work of the churches and the activities of the student Christian movement. Indeed, Mott had already established in 1895, the World's Student Christian Federation, which under his leadership in this period, unified student movements all over the world.

The Post-War Slump

The years of the war drained much missionary interest into military and European channels. But right after the war there was a burst of expansive missionary zeal. For it was felt that the ideals of the war were in harmony with the optimistic missionary crusade of the S. V. M. The Convention held in Des Moines in 1920 marked the peak of the Movement's development. It was attended by 6890 people from 949 schools and was followed by a peak year of newly enrolled Volunteers—2783. The churches put on big drives for forward movement funds and laid out vast programs for Christian world expansion. But this high peak of expansion was soon followed by a period of confusion and decline in the whole missionary program of the churches and the missionary emphasis of the student world. The number of Volunteers enrolled dropped from 2783 in 1920 to 25 in 1938. The number of Volunteers who sailed dropped from 637 in 1921 to 38 in 1934. The number of missionaries who sailed dropped from 1731 in 1920 to 367 in 1932. The attendance at the Quadrennial Conventions dropped from the 1920 peak to 2260 from 402 schools in 1932. These latter figures rallied in 1936 but by 1940 the Convention held in Toronto was attended by 465 delegates from 170 schools.

These marks of the Movement's decline were paralleled by internal strain, confusion and change. Mott resigned as chairman of the executive committee and J. Ross Stevenson resigned as its vice chairman, soon after the Des Moines Convention. After their long period of continued leadership, there was frequent change in their offices. The same was true of the Movement's headquarters staff. Fennell P. Turner had served as General Secretary from 1897 to 1919. He was followed by Robert Wilder who served until 1927 who was in turn succeeded by Jesse R. Wilson who served until 1936. After that two men served in four years with periods of uncertain administra-

tion between them. This same rapid change marked the entire staff during this period. The whole administrative structure was changed several times and different relationships were worked out with other organizations for the former bases of co-ordination proved increasingly unsatisfactory. The same change appeared in the literature program. The Movement resumed publication of its own organ in 1920 which was changed in form and frequency several times before being merged again with the *Intercollegian* of the Y. M. C. A. The watchword dropped rapidly out of use and the declaration card was revised. The purpose and methods of the Quadrennial Conventions came in for radical criticism and revision for in these Conventions the S. V. M. had been the unifying center of the whole student Christian movement. And now the shifting interests of the Christian Associations no longer were served by the traditional program. The result was that a sense of separation developed between the S. V. M. and the Christian Associations just at the time that there was a strongly felt need for increased unity in the face of overwhelming world problems.

Factors in the Movement's Decline

Many efforts were made at adjusting the Movement's program to the new conditions so as to recover its position. But the trend of decline continued steadily. Many reasons have been given for this. It is fairly clear that no one reason is an adequate explanation of it. Internally these years were marked by many changes of leadership. This broke the continuity of its life and also left the subtle impression that it was a sinking ship from which they were fleeing. There was increasing difficulty in financing its program which was closely related to the depression and to the loss of Mott's direct leadership. The program tended to be topheavy and the effort to make it democratic led to an increased separation of the Movement from the Christian Associations. Its emphasis upon foreign missions seemed to overlook glaring needs in America and so the Movement appeared to be a specialized affair rather than a comprehensive one. It had always been both a student movement and a missionary movement. When the interest of the students veered away from missions it left the Movement in a dilemma as to which interest to follow. At this critical juncture there was a great decline in missionary education. One reason for this was the assumption that discussion of

world problems by students was an improvement over the former type of informative procedure. The Conventions came to have this discussional character.

Other factors lay in the related organizations. The Christian Associations, which had cradled the Movement, had also changed to a leadership who were less personally connected with the Movement. Their emphasis shifted away from the Bible study, evangelism, life-work decision, and foreign mission obligation on which the S. V. M. had originally built. Instead, they now emphasized new issues such as race relations, economic injustice, and imperialism which appeared to be world wide rather than limited to the foreign field. These and other rival issues and movements deflected student loyalties away from the Movement. The mission program of the Protestant churches was also changing, leading to a great reduction in the number of outgoing missionaries. Since the Movement directed all its members to seek service under these churches, the Movement lost the immediate outlet for its Volunteers. The rise of indigenous leaders reduced the need for western personnel. And the rise of the social gospel blotted out the sharp distinction between Christian America and the "Unevangelized portions of the world."

These more immediate factors were also affected by more general ones. The World War was followed by a reaction of disillusionment which reduced interest in crusades. There was a widely heralded revolt of youth against an earlier generation just at the time when the Movement was obliged to transfer itself to a new generation. The rise of nationalism in the orient made the whole mission program less welcome there and made it necessary for westerners to be more deferent toward indigenous people.

The pressure of all forces showed up acutely in the confusion in its ideology and the decline in its relevance. These were apparently too great and too far reaching to permit the recovery of its early power. Orthodox Christian thought underwent change, especially in the educational world which was the province of the S. V. M. Revivalism had given way to basic uncertainty as to the validity of the Christian faith, especially of its claims to exclusive supremacy. Accordingly the watchword fell into disuse and the argument for foreign missions lost its force. No new conceptions appeared which served to unite the ideals and aspirations of the new generation. And this resulted in the almost complete disappearance of the declaration

card as the basis of membership. The newer emphasis upon a world wide Christian community for which we all are working does not yet appear to be specific enough in its life work challenge to carry on the Volunteer tradition.

The S. V. M. arose within a united and mission minded student Christian movement at a time when the mission program of the churches was expanding rapidly. This foreign mission emphasis was given expansive form in the Movement's watchword and served as a stirring objective for the students and the churches. This objective was presented to the students in the definite terms of a life work decision set in religious terms, but which decision led to a specific career. These factors have now changed so completely that the Movement can no longer fulfill its characteristic function. While its organization still continues and it may be able to find some useful function in the student Christian movement, it has almost ceased to be a decisive factor in the promotion of the missionary program of the churches. This program has changed and declined but is still flourishing, though its promotion is almost completely carried on by the churches themselves. It is conceivable that the S. V. M. may again grow into an important and effective movement, for some of its earlier functions still need to be fulfilled. Such another cycle of vigorous usefulness however would be another Movement.

LOWER MIAMI CHURCH

By Ross L. Noffsinger

Sometimes this church is spoken of as the "Cradle of Religion in the Miami Valley." This church was founded by Elder Jacob Miller in 1805.

Elder Miller came to what is now Jefferson Township, Montgomery County, in about 1800. Land west of the Miami River was not put up for sale until after 1801. Elder Miller's first land entry is dated July 28, 1801. At about this time, in what is now Dayton, there were just a few log cabins. Miller's land was in sections 35 and 36; this later, 1831-1840, was transferred to Miami Township. Then he bought all of section eleven, and three fourths of a mile north of the church he built his home. This is where, in 1815, he died and was buried.

Upper Picture: Lower Miami Meetinghouse, 1871
Lower Picture: Lower Miami Meetinghouse, Remodeled 1938

The Spot of Elder Jacob Miller's Grave
(See Text of Article)

Pell Holler is the only man that knows the whereabouts of Elder Miller's grave. Accompanying is a picture of Pell Holler standing on the spot where Elder Miller is believed to be buried.

At one time there were a number of markers standing around here, but during the years the markers have disappeared. As Pell Holler remembers it, it was where he is standing in this picture that there was a marker standing for Elder Miller. At the time this picture was taken the grave was along the edge of a wheat field, on the farm of Mrs. Adam Becker. Bro. Holler is looking south and the Shell Road is due north of his position approximately forty rods. The trees in the picture are on a creek bank and are about one rod from the grave site.

We are not sure about the details of the first church house. It was probably a brick house with no basement. Sometime later a frame kitchen was added to the south end of the structure. The plot of ground was donated by Eli and Samuel Noffsinger.

In 1871 a church house was erected with a basement, 42 x 60 feet, costing $3,500.00. Much of the material and labor were donated in the erection of this house. The chief builders were John Noffsinger, Sr., and Jacob Keen.

Elders Miller, Boltin, Etter, Bowman, John Garber (or Garver), and others met at Brother Miller's residence in October of 1805 and organized the Lower Miami church. From this church grew the following churches: Bear Creek, Lower Stillwater, Trotwood, Ft. McKinley, Wolf Creek, Brookville, Eversole, Beaver Creek, and East and West Dayton. The Four-mile church near Richmond, Indiana, was founded by Elder Jacob Miller.

Before there was a church house the Brethren met in the various homes for church services. And after some time their number increased so that they had to hold their communion service in some of the large barns. The Dan Noffsinger barn, in later years belonging to the Huffers, was a large barn that could accommodate the Brethren very nicely. Also a very large bank barn on the Isaac Shank farm was so used for many years. This was one of the largest bank barns in Montgomery County. It was later owned by Rev. Jacob Holler and his good wife, Elizabeth (Shank) Holler.

The split in the church in 1882 did not affect the Lower Miami church so very much. Brother Chas. C. Stebbins can remember when the Progressive Brethren met on a Sunday afternoon at the

church and found that the doors were locked so H. R. Holsinger delivered his sermon from the doorstep.

Among the presiding elders we have had: Jacob Miller, 1805-1815; Benjamin Bowman, 1815 to about 1822; Frederick Holler, 1822 to about 1845; Michael Moyer, 1845-1857; Dan Noffsinger, 1857-1866; George Holler, 1866-1897; Enoch Hyer, 1897-1913 (the oldest Elder presided up to this time); Emanuel Shank; J. O. Garst; Jesse Noffsinger; and John Garst, our present Elder. Among those Elders and ministers that were not presiding are: some of Jacob Miller's sons, Samuel Boltin, Bowman, David Murry, Daniel Bock, Frank Cotterman, Jacob Holler, John S. Noffsinger, Lawrence Garst, Paul Noffsinger, John Kneisley, and Ross L. Noffsinger.

The first Sunday school was organized in 1879. John Murry was the first superintendent. Silas Billman was the first chorister to serve both Sunday school and church in this capacity.

The Sunday school grew very steadily until 1937 when it was felt that we needed more Sunday-school class room. In 1938 we rededicated our new and remodeled building. When it was rededicated it was free of debt.

Today you will find that the Lower Miami church is going forward in the work of the kingdom of God.

Following is as complete a list of members as I was able to find in the year 1940.

Ora Brumbaugh
Mrs. Ora Brumbaugh
Mary Brumbaugh
Daniel Brain
Alice Brain
Rosa Brain
Mary Brain
Sara Bilman
Daniel Baker
Laura Baker
Jesse Brumbaugh
Edith Brumbaugh
Audry Brumbaugh
Mildred Brumbaugh
E. M. Book
Mrs. E. M. Book
Samuel Ballard
Mrs. Samuel Ballard
Bruce Ballard
Marie Ballard
Myrtle Ballard
Floyd Brooks
Margaret Coblentz
John Clemmer
Clarence Crain
Laura Belle?
Edna Cole
Lanora Cole
Norman Coatis
Mary Derringer
Ralph Derringer
Pauline Derringer
Glenna Derringer
Raymond Derringer
Earl Dils
Ida Dils

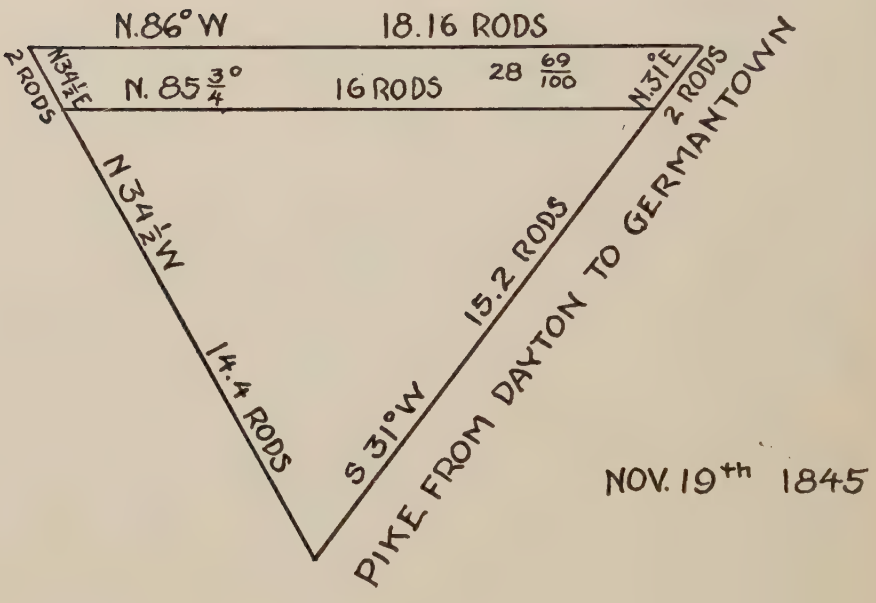
Mrs. Donson
Attie Deshong
Hazel Deshong
Dan Davis
Joseph Ebright
Lucile Ebright
Lester Ebright
Raymond Ebright
Bob Eager
Ruben D. Furrey
Mrs. Ruben D. Furrey
Viola Furrey
William Furrey
Blanche Furrey
Herman Furrey
Catherine Furrey
Wilmer Furrey
Dennis Flora
Anna Flora
Virginia Flora
Zetha Flora
Maudie Flora
Dortha Flora
Jesse Foutz
Orvile Foutz
Olive Foutz
Wilbur Flora
Edith Foust
Bula Foust
Naomi Flora
Junior Flora
Everett Flora
Treva Flora
Rosella Foust
Susanna Foust
Corwin Foust
Wilbur Foust
Jack Foust
Paul Foust
Richard Foust
Annas Foust
Jesse Garst
Eliza Garst
John Garst
Naomi Garst
Grace Garst
Lawrence Garst
Abram George
Amelia George
Lester George
Chester George
Fred George
Mrs. Fred George
Genevieve Garst
Orpha Garst
Glenn Garver
Ida Garver
Jean Garver
Norma Garver
George Garver
Samuel Garver
Enoch Hyre
Mary Hyre
John Huffer
Rachel Huffer
Jacob Huffer
Lina Huffer
Katie Huffer
Lizzie Holler
Leroy Holler
Jane Holler
Bertha Holler
Perry Holler
Hazel Holler
Mary Holler
John Hetter
Keiffer Hoover
Flora Hoover
Zelma Holler
John Hepner
William Hepner
Omer Hepner
Felicia Hepner
Hubert Holler
Mr. Hunt
Mrs. Hunt
Veda Holler
Loora Holler
Philip Hunt
Emma Jeuden
Charles Laprad
Ada Laprad
Lula Laprad
James Lamsdale
Ada Lamsdale
Nellie Lamsdale
William Lamsdale
Susie Lamsdale
Mary Lamsdale
Nora Laprad
Walter Laprad
Rosa Leida

Russel Leida
Ralph Leida
Omer Leida
Helen Laprad
John Moyer
Laura Moyer
Jesse Moyer
Harrison Moyer
John Moyer
Roy Moyer
Orpha Moyer
Chester Moyer
Noah Martin
Mrs. Noah Martin
Ruth Moyer
Richard Marcas
Glenna Moyer
Milton Medler
Sherman Mohler
Mrs. Mohler
Delmer Moyer
Harold Moyer
Denver Martin
James Martin
Ina Martin
Waine Mohler
Eli Noffsinger
Wilbur Noffsinger
Anna Neff
Charles Neff
Mauda Neff
Clarence Neff
Anna Noffsinger
Rebecca Noffsinger
Jesse Noffsinger
Flora Noffsinger
Frank Noffsinger
Addah Noffsinger
John Noffsinger
Susie Noffsinger
Mary Nedich
Altha Nedich
Catherine Noffsinger
Robert Noffsinger
Paul Noffsinger
Lucile Noffsinger
Carl Noffsinger
Ross Noffsinger
Roy Noffsinger
Lois Noffsinger
Lowell Noffsinger

Ray Noffsinger
John Noffsinger
Mark Noffsinger
Charles Noffsinger
Mildred (Throne) Noffsinger
Cleveland Pock
Gertrude Pock
Mrs. Putterbaugh
Andy Philabaum
Mary Philabaum
Susie Philabaum
Annas Puff
Carl Routzong
Eugene Routzong
Amos Routzong
Zelma Routzong
William Routzong
Effie Pike
Frances Root
Rosie Root
Ethel Root
Iven Reist
E. B. Rubele
Pearl Rubele
Nancy Reed
Charles Swope
Alice Swope
Marshal Swope
Elizabeth (Groff) Swope
Laura Shorp
Alice Stiver
Sara Stebbins
George Stebbins
Rosa Stebbins
Ray Stebbins
Charlotte Stebbins
Delbert Stebbins
Winnefred Stebbins
John Stebbins
Lizzie Stebbins
Charles Stebbins
Mark Stebbins
Lula Stebbins
Mark Stebbins
Roy Stebbins
Cecile Stebbins
Iva Stebbins
Dortha Shively
Ed Stebbins
Ada Stebbins
Earl Stebbins

Elmer Stebbins
Armetha Stebbins
Alice Stebbins
Glenn Stebbins
Howard O. Stebbins
Emma Stebbins
Lester Stebbins
Elsie Stebbins
Frank Stebbins
Catherine Stebbins
Cecile Stebbins
Walter Stebbins
Paul Stebbins
Mildred Stebbins
Herman Stebbins
Katie Sassaman
John Sassaman
Glenn Sassaman
Grace Sassaman
Wilbur Sassaman
Mrs. Stump
Russel Stump
Elmer Stump
Emma Stull
George Strader
Mary Strader
Clarence Stull
Sofiah Stutzman
Ethel Sollenberger
Ira Stout
Emmanuel Shank
Alice Shank
Charles Shank
Maud Shank
Raymond Shank
Vera Shank
Mildred Shank
Miriam Shank
B. O. Shank
Minerva Shank
Vesta Shank
Rebecca Shank
Daniel Shank
Mary Shank
Howard Shank
Walter Shank
Alvaia Shank
Maud Shank
Norma Shivedecker
Orvilla Shivedecker
Ruth Stebbins
Lois Stebbins
Emma May Stebbins
Elmer Smith
Clara Smith
Flora Smith
Florence Smith
Marie Smith
Edith Smith
Freda Ruth Stebbins
Margery Stebbins
Betty Smith
Marcella Swope
Howard Stoner
Betty Stebbins
Charles Shorp
Mirle Stebbins
Sarah Stebbins
Catherine Stebbins
Mary Ellen Stebbins
Billy Stebbins
Paul Smith
Dortha Tallanger
Daniel Toms
Thomas Tulley
Bob Tulley
Robert Tod
William Wiseman
Susan Wade
Nora Wade
Stephen Wasko
Frank Wasko
Lennie West
Margarite West
Robert West
Martha West
Eugene West
Edith Wolf
Daniel Yonce

Ancient Records of the Lower Miami Church



Before me George Olinger Justice

Survey and plat of a lot of ground for a Meeting house being in Section No. 14, Town 3 and range 5, East of a merdian line from the mouth of the Great Miami River and bounded and described as follows.

Beginning at a planted stone on the line between the lands of Eli and Samuel Noffsinger and on the west edge of the pike leading from Dayton to Germantown,Thence along the west edge of said pike S. 31 degrees W. 15.2 rods to a planted stone, thence N. 34½ W. 14.4 rods to a planted stone on the line between Eli and Samuel Noffsinger, Thence N. 85¼ degrees E. 16 rods to the place of beginning; Containing 99.62 square rods, more or less, (being cut off of Eli Noffsinger's land)

Also a piece cut off of Samuel Noffsingers land described and as follows; beginning at a stone on W. side of said Pike, thence N. 31 degrees east (two) 2 rods to a planted stone on the edge of said pike, Thence N. 86 degrees W. 18.16 rods to a stone, Thence S. 34½ degrees east 2 rods to a stone; Thence N. 85¼ degrees 16 rods to the place of beginning, containing 28.69 square rods more or less.

Deed, 1866 in Book No. L2 page 233 in the records of Montgomery County, Ohio.

Know all men by these presents that we Samuel Noffsinger and Mary Noffsinger wife of Samuel Noffsinger of the county of Montgomery and state of Ohio in the consideration of the sum of one dollar in hand paid by Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger and their successors in office the following premises: situated in the county of Montgomery and state of Ohio being in Section No. 14, Town 3, Range 5 East of a mederian line drawn from the mouth of the Great Miami River and bounded and described as follows: Beginning at a stone on the west side of the pike leading from Dayton to Germantown, thence H. 31 degrees E. 2 rods to a planted stone at the edge of said pike. Thence N. 86 degrees W. 18.16 rods to a stone. Thence S. 34½ degrees E. 2 rods to a stone. Thence N. 85 degrees 16 rods to a place of beginning containing 28.69 hundredths square rods more or less. To have and to hold said premises with the apportenances unto the said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger Ministers of the aforesaid and their successors in office as aforesaid foreever for the sole use and benefit of the Dunkard Church of the Brethren Generaly and the said Samuel Noffsinger for himself and heirs doth here by covenant with said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger Ministers as aforesaid and their successors in office as aforesaid that subject of the premises aforesaid and that the premises aforesaid and that the premises are free and clear from all incumbrances whatsoever and that he will for ever warrant and defend the same with the appurtenances unto the said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger Ministers as aforesaid and their successors in office as aforesaid for the use aforesaid against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever. In Testimony whereof the Samuel Noffsinger and Mary Noffsinger his wife who here by relinquishes her right of dower in the premises have hereunto set their hands and souls this 28th. day of January in the year of our Lord one thousands eight hundred and forty six.

Signed and Sealed and acknowledged in the presence of us
Jacob Kline

Samuel Noffsinger
Mary Noffsinger

Deed 1866, Book No. L2 P. 232. Records of Montgomery County, Ohio.

Know all these men by these present that the Eli Noffsinger and Mary Noffsinger wife of said Eli Noffsinger of the County of Montgomery and State of Ohio in consideration of the sum of one dollar in hand paid by Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsingers Ministers of the Baptist Church or Brethren commonly called Dunkards have bargined and sold and do here by grant bargin, Sell and convey unto the said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger and their successors in office forever the following premises. Situate in the county of Montgomery and State of Ohio being in Section No. 14 Town 3 and Range 5 East of a mederian line dawn from the mouth of the Great Miami River and bounde and described as follows, Beginning at a planted stone on the line between the lands of Eli and Samuel Noffsinger and on the west edge of the Pike leading from Dayton to Germantown

thence along the west edge of said Pike S. 81 degrees W. 15.2 rods to a planted stone, thence N. 36½ degrees W. 14.6 rods to a planted stone on the line between Eli and Samuel Noffsinger. Thence N. 85¼ degrees E. 16 rods to the place of beginning containing 99.62 hundredths square rods more or less. To have and hold to said premises with the appurtenances unto the said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger ministers of the aforesaid and their successors in office as the aforesaid forever, for the sole use and benefit of the Dunkard Church or Brethren generaly, and said Eli Noffsinger for himself and his heirs doth hereby convenant with said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger Ministers as aforesaid that he is lawfully seized from all incumbrances whatsoever and that he will forever warrant and defend the same with the purtenance with said Michael Moyer and Daniel Noffsinger Ministers as aforesaid for the uses aforesaid and their successors in office as aforesaid for the uses aforesaid against the lawful claims of all persons whensoever In Testimony whereof the said Elis Noffsinger and Mary Noffsinger his wife who hereby relinquishes her right of dower in the premises have hereunto set their hands and souls this 28th. day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fortysix.

signed, Sealed & acknowledged in the presence of
Jacob Kline

Eli Noffsinger
Mary Noffsinger

LOWER MIAMI CHURCH

(Rededication, May 29, 1938)

By Chas. C. Stebbins

One hundred years ago and more
Living along the Miami shore
Was an Indian redskin tribe,
Upon this fertile country they did thrive.

How long they lived and loved here
And the Indian wooed his mate dear
Perhaps no one can ever tell,
But they lived and loved, we know, full well.

The white man came from over the seas
He came, and builded—colonies.
'Twas a stormy time between the Red and the White
But at last the White man won the fight.

Poor Indian was driven from tepee and home
And further west he had to roam.
He had to go so you and I
Could enjoy this fine old country.

The white man came to worship his Lord,
He brought with him the Holy Word,
He founded churches here and there,
For, man will worship, everywhere.

Jacob Miller to the Miami Valley came
And Lower Miami is the Church's name.
Jacob Miller, a devout old man,
We thank him, now, as best we can.

The third church house is standing here
Built 1871 by our forefathers dear.
Now this addition and remodel we make,
Our thanks to God, we beg Him, take.

Lower Miami a parent has been,
To churches around us, now and then:
Bear Creek, Ft. McKinley and Happy Corner, too,
East Dayton, West Dayton, not a few.

Our church is not as large as some churches are
But our girls and boys stray near and far.
From coast to coast they preach the Word
And good lives live and honor their Lord.

We are thanking God and all of you.
In wishing Godspeed is best we can do.
God give us grace to live aright
And help us on to win the fight.

We dedicate our house today,
And to our God our homage pay.
We dedicate to you, dear Lord,
That we may feed upon your Word.

We dedicate without a debt
And willing be, O Lord, and yet
We owe you all we hope to be.
Thou art most gracious, help us see.

And now, dear Lord, we give to you
This building and our worship true.
May we go on and worship here,
May this church live for many a year.

We dedicate, we consecrate,
And for your blessings, Lord, we wait.
May you come down in spirit now,
While at your feet we humbly bow.

ROANN CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN ROANN, INDIANA

By Bruce Flora

At the outset, it must, in all fairness, be said that what material has been used in this paper has been entirely gathered from others. The author came to the Roann Congregation on June 1, 1940 as Student-Pastor while attending Bethany Biblical Seminary. He is now serving the second year at this post and the church at Roann is growing and the prospects for the future are much more rosy today than they were some ten, or even five years ago. The author claims to know nothing whatever about the church before he came to serve it as pastor, therefore the material herewith presented is claimed to be as objective in its fact and implication as could be written. There are many persons living in the brotherhood who have at one time or another worshipped at the Roann Church. Each of them has some contribution to make to a complete history of the congregation, but it has been physically impossible thus far to contact even a majority of those living in the congregation and adjoining congregations, and those who have moved some distance away have not been consulted.

The reader will notice immediately that this account of this congregation has gaps which should be filled, but the person with that knowledge has not been contacted. It is the hope of the author to complete this history so that every bit of tangible material may be preserved for the future. Much of the information herein listed has come from the memory of some of the older men and women of the community and of the church and only a very small part has been gleaned from books.

The first part, about the early organization, has been taken largely from Otho Winger's, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana.* Much debt is due Bro. Winger for this and verbal information which has been used. Certain specific events will be footnoted and credit given to the person who gave the information, but, in general, the material has come from several sources on the same item, in which cases, no credit will be given in a footnote reference. The author desires to thank every one who has given information for this brief, and thus far sketchy history.

* * *

The Roann church was at first a part of the Mexico Congregation. The Mexico Church is located about ten miles due north of Peru, Indiana, on U. S. route 31. There is a small town by the same name and the church adjoins on the north. The Roann Church house was built on the banks of the Eel River, near the town of Roann. The town is located fifteen miles northeast of Peru, ten miles northwest of Wabash, Indiana, and fourteen miles southwest of North Manchester, Indiana.

The church was organized in 1855 with about ninety members.[1] The name given to this new outpost was Squirrel Creek Dunker Church, so named because of a small stream which flowed into Eel River near the church structure. The first meetinghouse was erected in 1864, on the north side of the Eel River and about one-half mile north of the town of Roann. "This house would have been built sooner but for the trials the brethren had in paying out those who had been drafted in the war." (War between the States—1861-1865).[2]

The congregation is located in the midst of a rich farming community. Throughout its history the majority of its members have been farmers, who knew the feel of the soul for good soil. Thus there have been no great wealthy members but nearly all have been prosperous people who lived on and loved the soil.

It might be well here to cite somewhat of the work of some who led in building this congregation and who so faithfully served it for many years. According to Winger some of these were: David Neff, who was elected deacon in 1861, was called to the ministry in 1865,

1. Otho Winger: *History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana,* p. 125.
2. *Ibid.*

and ordained in 1872. Benjamin Neff and John Wagoner were elected to the ministry in 1868. Isaac Deardorf and David Swihart were elected to the ministry in 1872. In the seventies Elder Jesse Myers moved in from Iowa. Some of the early deacons who served, some long and some well, were: Shelby Arthur, John White, Alexander Abshire, J. T. Jenkins, Joseph John, Solomon Eikenberry, Abraham Landis, John Deardorf, Henry Neff, Isaac Bowman, James Zook, and George Deardorf. By 1881 (twenty-six years of life) there were 150 members (grown from ninety in 1855).

In 1882 the name of the church was changed from Squirrel Creek to Roann and has been so known since. About this same time Aaron Moss moved into the congregation and served the church. Morris Dillman also came in about this time. In 1896 three young men of this congregation were called to the ministry: George E. Swihart, Henry J. Neff, and Robert Miller. Robert Miller later asked to be relieved of the office, Bro. Neff moved away in 1898, and Bro. Swihart continued to serve the church here. He was ordained to the eldership in October, 1904 and served as presiding elder for eleven years, save one, when Bro. J. D. Rife had charge. Bro. Swihart is still living in the congregation but, due to the infirmities of age, is now unable to participate actively in the preaching program but is still called on to conduct the last rites for many an old and lifelong friend. It has been the author's privilege to assist Bro. Swihart on several such occasions.

The last one called to the ministry in this church (to the knowledge of the author) was Jonathan Cripe. Bro. I. E. Warren was ordained to the eldership in 1908. Bro. C. C. Miller came from Pleasant Valley, Ohio, in 1908 and served the church for a number of years. He still resides in the congregation and takes his place in the church program, being a guiding hand in the affairs of the church. In 1916 the membership of the church had dropped to 136, partly due to emigration, but also somewhat due to a transfer of some members to the Progressive branch of the church.

Just a word might be in place here about the activities of the church in her heyday. Perhaps this can be caught into the picture by the following narrative by Sister Sarah Ranck, who has lived here these many years and is still active in the work of the kingdom.

"How dear to the heart are the memories of the old Roann Church, from the days of horse-drawn conveyances, and solemn

services in candle light. Our pulpit was a long table along the north wall of our low, long brick house. On the north side of the table the ministers took their places; on the south side the faithful deacons sat. The west half of the building was for the women, perhaps because that was next to the kitchen with its big fireplace for cooking and in one corner an old fashioned cradle where many a baby slept serenely, unconscious of its future place in the church. The east half of the building belonged entirely to the men. The younger and more venturesome (if any) naturally appropriated the section half way between, and south of the table.

"A pump in the well just outside the west kitchen door gave us a never failing supply of the coldest, clearest water.

"The janitor and his wife generally lived in the kitchen and the second floor. This upper room was over all, and furnished a sleeping place for those who brought bedding from their faraway homes and stayed for the two days' 'Big Meetings.' This was before the day of inner spring mattresses and sleep was sweet on the hard floor after a season of fellowship by those of a like precious faith.

"Many were the series of meetings which filled the house to overflowing and added many good workers to the number. [The author is reliably informed that as many as 1100 persons attended some of these services and as many as 800 attended the love feast occasion.]

"There were large classes of young people and the boys and girls were taught in separate classes. I well remember the girls' class for a number of years numbered eighteen—this was from about 1908 to 1914. Many of these are now workers in the church, here and elsewhere."

The day came when the subject of remodeling the old house of worship or building a new one was discussed. The decision reached was to build a new one. Then came the question of location. Should it be where the old one was? The decision was to move across the river into the village of Roann. So it was that in 1920 an abandoned one-room brick Presbyterian Church building was purchased for $1000. It was necessary to remodel this building, and a basement, classrooms, entrance, and balcony were added, at a cost of approximately $8000.

This expenditure of $8000 was one of the saddest moves ever made by this congregation, for out of it grew hatreds, jealousies, and strifes. All could not be pleased with what was done, nor could

all assist in managing the work. Not all could do the work necessary to the project. But the sad story is,—some felt slighted, others felt hurt, while still others felt elated. Without saying who was who or what was what, the fact is that the church split up into factions. The net result of the split-up was a loss of many members who went over to the Progressive branch, others withdrew from the church entirely, others became inactive (and are still so to some extent), while others tried to struggle on and carry the load which had been so unceremoniously thrown onto their shoulders.

The membership rolls were depleted until scarcely fifty members remained, and many of these were not co-operating in the work. Time rolled on. Several pastors were called to serve the church, but none stayed long. Years were when there was no resident pastor. During this time Elder Edward Kintner was chosen to preside over the struggling congregation and he also served as pastor for many years. The faithful few kept attending and struggling, but growth was not there. One by one those who had gone away came back and the roll increased to ninety again, but the attendance at services was large if there were thirty present on Sunday morning.

In 1938 Miss Mary Cook was chosen as pastor and served for nearly two years. During her term of office the membership increased to ninety-six and attendance at services increased somewhat.

(From this point it is necessary to deal with the church here under the leadership of the author; therefore, no evaluation will be attempted of this period. Only facts, substantiated by the records of the church clerk, will be given and no conclusions will be drawn, because the author cannot safely evaluate his own work nor does he desire to lay praise or blame when the success of the work at Roann is dependent upon the wholesome co-operation of *all* the members.)

The average Sunday-school attendance during the first six months of 1941 was fifty-six, and the average Church (preaching) attendance was for the same period forty-seven. A high for the period was seventy-two at Sunday School and seventy-three at preaching service. A more wholesome attitude is being manifested by many of the members. Some members who had not attended services for several years (according to the Church clerk) are now in regular attendance and are participating in the work.

The church has not grown by new baptisms but rather by a reconsecration on the part of some old members and by the return of letters of membership by some who had withdrawn them. Today the membership is 104 and the prospect is for more in the near future.

The young people's group is large and bodes a great prospect for the future if they can be fed with the gospel and given the responsibility they should have. The picture is indeed much brighter than it was.

Only now is it possible to urge outsiders to come and worship with us. Many were the days and weeks and years when the feeling of fellowship and friendship was lacking and the stranger was not welcome in the hearts of the congregation, although the church said, "Welcome."

Can this congregation ever achieve the status it once enjoyed? Time alone can give the answer, but the author and present pastor can see great possibilities and the future may be once more dawning a new day. The debt of $8000 contracted in 1920 has been gradually cut down until today only $396 remain unpaid. Last year over $200 was paid on this debt over and above the support of the local pastoral and church program.

Thus ends a sketchy and incomplete picture of the Roann Church of Middle Indiana. Not enough dates and names have been included in this account. Most of the missing information must be gotten from individual memories, because, after the division caused by the building program, all of the church records prior to that date (1920) were lost. How? Some say they were deliberately destroyed. Others say they still exist but are held by someone still on the "outs" with the church. Whichever or whatever is the case, they are not at the disposal of the author. The district and even annual conference sent committees to Roann to help get the conditions straightened out. In this maze of committees many things were said and done which were regretted later and many things could be wiped off the record by destroying it. The fact is—the records are gone. The past is back of the Roann Church of the Brethren—so why not look forward—and build for the future—and for the glory of the Kingdom of God.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WE COMMEND OURSELVES

We are closing the third volume of Schwarzenau with this number. We are proud of the contents of this number. The vivid historical imagination of Vernon Miller compels the reader's attention. Had you ever thought of his question?

Sometimes it is asked of an article not directly on Brethren history, Why did you publish it? Lest anyone ask, may we anticipate. At a time when the Brethren Service Committee is so nearly in the center of Church life, it is well to contemplate the course of Christian Charity. We commend a reflective reading of the study of Miss Schaeffer in this field. The quality and clarity of Paul Hersch's essay makes it relevant in a time when we seem to be passing through a major transition in world culture.

We feel genuinely glad to enter the name of Eld. John Heckman as a contributor to this issue. Few men have followed Brethren history with greater attention and are more at home in Brotherhood lore than Elder Heckman. We welcome his promise of further contributions.

WE GO FORWARD

It is with great pleasure we face the future. The next number will carry details of this announcement of an enlarged "Schwarzenau." Hitherto we have been in the experimental stage. An enlarged editorial board and increased financial support make our future much rosier.

But we need an enlarged circle of readers. The even more fundamental need—writers—seems to be supplied.

We need four hundred automatically renewing subscribers. Altho the journal is enlarging its scope it will remain for the present at the old subscription price, one dollar per annum.

We cannot build an extensive sales organization. Our reliance is upon those interested in Church History and especially upon those interested in the Church that rose at Schwarzenau.

Use the enclosed card—WITHOUT DELAY.

EXCERPTS FROM ELDER JOHN J. EMMERT'S DIARY

Polo, Ill., Feb. 4, 1942

Dear Brother Mallott:—

Not forgetting the promise I made you some months ago, I am sending you a few clips from the diary of Elder John J. Emmert who lived in Illinois nearly all his life. He died in Mt. Morris in 1893. He left us some very valuable papers of various kinds. His diary began Feb. 1, 1857, and continued to his death. The year 1862 is missing.

A few years ago I found this diary in California. I went through it and gleaned many items of church interest. I am inclosing these three pages covering my gleanings from the two years, 1857 and 1858. As the years pass, he gives much the same kind of information. If more of this would be of interest to you, I would be willing to copy it off and send it.

I have inserted a few parentheses as explanatory. You will note them easily. John Heckman.

1857

Feb. 1. Series of meetings at the Grove by David Rittenhouse and C. Long. Kansas fever raging. Threshing wheat to get straw.

Feb. 4. Singing at the Grove. Attended some of them. Stopped going. Things went on that I disapproved. Attended M. E. church in town.

Apr. 13, Mon. Big Council Meeting in Ogle County. [First Dist. Meeting in Illinois, at West Branch.]

June 29, Mon. John Sprogle preached in the Courthouse. Powerful sermon, I Tim. 3:16.

July 12, Sun. Went to M. E. camp meeting. Much rain.

July 19, Sun. George Puterbaugh preached.

Aug. 23, Sun. Meeting at the Brick schoolhouse. Rittenhouse preached.

Aug. 30, Sun. Meeting at the Grove. George Puterbaugh preached. Puterbaugh's wife died Oct. 26, 1857 [evidently entered later]. Andrew Emmert went south for peaches.

Sept. 10. Every day brings accounts of bank failings. Money very hard to get.

Sept. 15, Tues. Daniel Arnold died this evening of typhoid fever. Wed. funeral. C. Long preached from Job. 14. "O how hard it is to give up a dear and respected friend."

Oct. 9, Fri. Visited Uncle Ben. Swingley, Mt. Morris.

Oct. 31, Sat. Lovefeast at the Grove. John Buck and Michael Sissler elected to the ministry. Samuel Lahman, Sr., present. On Sunday house more than full.

Nov. 16, Sun. Rittenhouse and Michael Sissler preached in the Courthouse.

Christmas Week. Brother Emmert goes horseback to visit Old Uncle Joseph Emmert in Lee County. He hears him preach. It is his second visit. [Old Uncle Joseph Emmert is an uncle to Joseph D. Emmert, John J.'s father.]

Dec. 31. Emmert recites that the plow factory in Grand deTour, Ill., had burned during the year at a loss estimated at $50,000.

1858

Jan. 17, Sun. James Quinter preached at the Grove morning and evening. A. M. text, John 16. Monday morning and evening and Tuesday evening he preached at the Grove. Wednesday and Thursday evenings he preached in the Mt. Carroll Courthouse.

Jan. 31, Eleven baptized. Mary and William Emmert, H. P. Strickler and wife.

Feb. 14. Meeting at the Grove. Text by Bro. Long from 10th chap. Jn. Four baptized. John Arnold and wife, Joseph Strickler and John Eisenbise.

Feb. 17. My birthday. Twenty-five today.

Feb. 20. Went to meeting near Franklin Grove. Listened to a discourse by Uncle Joseph.

Feb. 22, Mon. Came home as far as Livengood's. Stayed all night.

Feb. 25. Joseph Stitzel and Miss Strickler married.

Feb. 24, Wed. Meetings at Cherry Grove. Text by Enoch Eby, Rom. 12.

Feb. 26, Fri. A series of meetings commencing at the Grove. Enoch Eby preached an excellent sermon from John 12:1.

Feb. 27. Preaching again at the Grove by Eby and [Daniel] Fry. Also this eve from Matt. 20.

Feb. 28, Sun. Assembled for worship. Text Matt. 24. Nine were baptized. Also preaching this evening from 2nd. Cor. 2.

Mar. 1, Mon. Cleaning wheat. Meeting at Rittenhouse's schoolhouse tonight.

Mar. 2, Tues. Five were baptized today. Preaching again tonight.

Mar. 5, Fri. Meeting tonight at the Grove schoolhouse by Long and Rittenhouse.

Mar. 7, Sun. Preaching at the Brick. Text 2nd. Peter 1. Andrew Baker and wife, and A. Harnish and wife baptized.

Mar. 12, Fri. Making fence. Bro. Long passed. Said they had meeting last night. Today sixteen baptized. Ten women and six men.

Mar. 14, Sun. Meeting at the Grove. Text by Rittenhouse, Rom. 12.

Mar. 21, Sun. Meeting at the George Emmert schoolhouse. Text by Long 2nd. Peter 1. Jacob Kline baptized. Good social meeting at Bro. Strickler's.

Mar. 25, Thur. Mrs. S. Strickler baptized today.

Mar. 28, Sun. Listened to a discourse from Acts 3, by Bro. Lahman in Franklin Grove, Lee County.

Mar. 29, Mon. Meeting at the Grove yesterday. Seven baptized.

Apr. 2, Fri. One person baptized at Brother Musselman's.

Apr. 3, Sat. Went to meeting at the Grove. Brother Lahman preached from 1st. Cor. 15.

Apr. 4, Sun. Assembled this morning for worship, also this eve. Excellent preaching by Lahman, Eby and [Samuel] Garber.

Apr. 5, Mon. A General Council of several churches assembled at the Grove. The *four churches* were well represented. Went off well. (These four churches constituted the district at that time. This was the second Dist. Meeting).

Apr. 10, Mon. Church meeting at the Grove to set forth four deacons. Vis: H. P. Strickler, S. Musselman, John Rowland, and Daniel Kingery were elected.

Apr. 14, Wed. Sowing mustard.

Apr. 25, Sun. Preaching at the Grove. Preaching by Bro. Puterbaugh. Three baptized.

May 2, Sun. Meeting at the Brick. Bro. Long preached. Also in the evening at the Grove schoolhouse.

May 9, Sun. Went to meeting at the Grove. Four baptized.

May 16, Sun. Attended meeting at the meeting house near Franklin Grove. Text by S. Lichty from Acts 2.

May 23, Sun. Whitsuntide. Uncle and Aunt Swingley received by baptism. Text Acts 2.

June 6, Sun. Meeting at the Grove by Bro. Sissler. Text John 3.

June 8, Tues. Lovefeast at the Grove. Commenced at 1. Heavy rain. Stayed at the church all night. Crowded full. Four baptized.

June 30, Sun. Went to meeting as usual at the Grove. Good instruction by Buck and Long. Text Rom. 1. Joseph Stitzel was baptized.

July 14, Wed. Harvesting mustard.

July 31, Sat. Tremendous heavy rain with thunder. The milk drowned to death with water running over it [in spring house].

Aug. 1, Sun. Text by Sissler at the Grove from Luke 13.

Aug. 8, Sun. Text by Rittenhouse from Luke 17 at the G. Emmert schoolhouse.

Aug. 15, Sun. Preaching at the Grove by [John] Forney and Long. 2 baptized.

Aug. 27, Fri. Went for pearls to Plum River. Made out rather poor.

Sept. 12, Sun. Meeting at the Grove. One baptized.

Sept. 16. Wild pigeons are plentiful.

Sept. 26, Sun. Went to meeting at the Grove and also to near Milledgeville where there was a lovefeast held. Came home in the morning. [This first lovefeast at Dutchtown was held in the home of Elder Henry Myers at the foot of the hill. With some changes this house is still in use.]

Sept. 27, Wed. The Carroll Agricultural Fair commences today.

Oct. 3, Sun. Meeting at the G. Emmert Schoolhouse. Rittenhouse preached from the 2nd. Epistle of John.

Oct. 7. Teacher's Institute in session all week at Mt. Carroll.

Oct. 9, Sat. Church meeting at the Grove all day. Did not get through with the business.

Oct. 10, Sun. Good meeting at the Grove. Rittenhouse preached from 1st. John 3.

Oct. 16, Sat. Intended going to Stephenson County to a lovefeast but it being very rainy, gave it up.

Oct. 19, Tues. Lovefeast at the Grove. Commenced this P.M. Large attendance. Five baptized.

Oct. 31, Sun. Meeting at the schoolhouse. Text by Sissler and Strickler. [This is Elder Henry Strickler.]

Nov. 7, Sun. Meeting at the Grove. Text by Bro. Buck, Matt. 23.
Nov. 11, Thur. Joseph Arnold and Susa Stitzel married.
Nov. 21, Sun. Attended meeting at the Grove. Text by Strickler from Gal. 2.
Nov. 22, Mon. Attended church meeting at the Grove. Passed off smoothly. Many things were attended to; among others, the most important, was division of the church, although peaceably. [It was at this meeting that Hickory Grove and Dutchtown congregations were set off into separate organizations.]
Dec. 1, Wed. Aunt Polly Strickler very sick. Lizzie and myself went up to see her.
Dec. 5, Sun. Meeting at the Grove. Text by Bro. Long from Col. 1.
Dec. 9, Thur. Threshing clover seed.
Dec. 12, Sun. Went to meeting at the Brick. Excellent preaching by Long and Rittenhouse.
Dec. 19, Sun. Went to meeting. Text by Bro. Lichty followed by Long. John 4.
Dec. 23, Thur. Mary and myself went to Cherry Grove. A series of meetings commences this eve. Long preaches. The meeting continued three days.

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD THEOLOGY

Virgil D. Weimer

"In the subtilities of speculative theology the Church takes but little interest. She is chiefly concerned in giving willing and cheerful obedience to the plain, simple commandments of Jesus Christ."[1] This quotation is perhaps the most representative statement of the position of the Church of the Brethren toward theology. It would apply from the beginning of the Church through to the present time with little modification. Although authoritative doctrinal statements and writings have been made and brought before Annual Meeting for approval, the Church has never officially adopted a particular theological system or a formal creed.

1. Winger, Otho, *History and Doctrine of the Church of the Brethren,* p. 232. (Winger quotes D. L. Miller.)

The reason for this attitude lies chiefly in the historical beginning of the church in Germany. Alexander Mack was born in Germany in 1679 at about the time when the Pietistic movement had almost reached its full growth. His family belonged to the Reformed Church. They were diligent in religious matters and of a pious and sincere nature. Mack early became dissatisfied with the religious atmosphere of the state churches and became a separatist. Besides his own investigations and thinking, Mack was in all probability somewhat influenced in taking this step by Pietistic thought. He and his wife endured persecution and finally with their family sought refuge at Schwarzenau.

Schwarzenau at this time was a haven of refuge for many persecuted people who in some way were in opposition to the state churches. Here Mack became more closely and definitely associated with the Pietists. He was also under the influence of the writings of Gottfried Arnold who pioneered in an historical study of the primitive Christian Church. However, the greatest influence came from the Pietistic group.

It is pertinent to our topic to understand the attitude of the Pietists toward the theology of the times which was cold, dogmatic, intellectual, and binding. Ascent to particular beliefs and doctrine was the main emphasis of the Lutheran Church and other state churches. Because of this little attention was given to practical goodness of the Christian life. The Pietists among other things emphasized this practical goodness. As a result little attention was given to dogmatic theological systems or creeds. Although this emphasis did not deny theology, it gave it a very minor place. Among the Pietistic separatists, with which group Mack was closely associated, theology counted for very little. Mack undoubtedly already held a similar attitude since he was a separatist, but this was strengthened by his association with the Pietists.

Out of his study of the New Testament and primitive Church history, Mack became conscious of certain rites and ordinances commanded by Christ and practiced by the primitive Church which the present state churches did not practice. He also saw practices in the state churches which he believed were contrary to the New Testament teaching and practice. The separatists with whom Mack was associated did not believe in a formal church organiza-

tion for fear of falling into the error of the state churches. However, Mack realized that if the rites and ordinances of the New Testament were to be carried out some type of group unity would be needed. Mack found a group who was of the same mind and the Church of the Brethren was organized in 1708 with one of its main purposes being the practicing of the New Testament rites and ordinances as they understood them and to correct any error in their practice which was apparent in the state churches. The New Testament was adopted as their rule of faith and practice.

We see then, I think, three factors inherent in the historical beginning of the Church and transmitted throughout its history as to why the Church of the Brethren has taken little interest "in the subtilities of speculative theology"; namely, (1) the antipathy of its paternal members toward theology because of its speculative, dogmatic, cold, intellectual, and binding nature; (2) the emphasis placed on the practice of the practical goodness of Christianity; (3) the emphasis placed on the correct practice of the New Testament rites and ordinances.

This latter emphasis has been a particular important factor in Church belief and the most important in subordinating interest in strictly theological doctrine in the Church. The rites and ordinances have been so much developed, emphasized, and defended that one often hears them commonly spoken of as the doctrine of the Church of the Brethren.

From the latter part of the nineteenth century on there is evidence that points to a progressive open interest in the Church toward theological subjects. In the Preface of his book, *The Doctrine of the Brethren Defended,* (1876) Bro. R. H. Miller makes a statement which is interesting. He says, "As we have discussed some subjects that are not much written upon by our brethren, and as it is probable that some things are new either in matter or form, we hope our brethren will examine it carefully. . . ." This statement upholds the truth of Bro. D. L. Miller's statement quoted at the beginning of this paper, and also shows an interesting trend of interest in more strictly theological subjects. For besides dealing with good Brethren practices, he writes about the divinity of Christ and the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The publication of such subjects would seem to indicate at this time a growing interest in theo-

logical subjects. The hidden undercurrent of theology is now coming out into the open.

In 1914 we find further representative evidence of this more open growth of interest in theology in the publication of two books: *The New Testament Doctrines,* by J. H. Moore, and *An Outline of the Fundamental Doctrines of Faith,* by D. W. Kurtz. Besides writing about good Brethren practices, we find these two men writing about such subjects as the Doctrine of God, Man, Christ, Salvation, the Church, the Scriptures, the Trinity, and Eschatology.

In 1913 a query came before Annual Meeting requesting the publication of a suitable book to be used in the instruction of converts. In 1916 the Conference adopted the following report of the General Sunday School Board.

The General Sunday School Board, to which the Annual Meeting of 1915 referred the matter of devising a plan for publishing a Book on Doctrine, presents the following report:

I. After investigation, we suggest that the Book on Doctrine contain three sections as follows:

1. Fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Church.

Under this heading should be treated such subjects as, The Triune Godhead, The Bible the Word of God, God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son of God, The Holy Spirit, Sin, The Atonement, The Church, Faith, Repentance, Baptism Regeneration or The New Birth, Conversion, Redemption, Justification, Sanctification, The Second Coming of Christ, Resurrection, Judgment, and Heaven.

2. Church Ordinances and Distinctive Practices of the Church of the Brethren:

Under this heading should be treated such subjects as, The New Testament Our Rule of Faith and Practice, Trine Immersion, Feet Washing, The Lord's Supper, The Eucharist or Communion, The Salutation or Holy Kiss, The Anointing, The Prayer Veil, The Simple Life, Christian Adornment, and a chapter on the points of Instruction to Applicants.

3. The Christian Life in Service.

Under this heading should be treated such subjects as, Significance of Christian Service, The Surrendered Life, Self-Denial, The Higher Life, Christian Growth, Prayer, Bible Reading and Study, Fasting, Assurance, Guidance, Humility, Witness Bearing, Christian Giving, Loyalty, Temperance, Peace, Proper Associates, and Amusements.

II. We recommend a book about the size of *Training the Sunday School Teacher,* adapted to the ages from ten to sixteen. Scripture texts, lists of questions, and constructive and spiritual treatment should be marked features.

III. The Conference shall encourage but not formally approve the book, lest it might in time be accepted as a creed. Therefore we recommend that it be published by one of the regularly-organized Boards of the Church.[2]

This book was published in 1919 and followed generally the suggested outline of the report. The first part of the book, "Fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Church," shows the brotherhood as a whole becoming still more concerned with strictly theological subjects.

The above three books represent the closest thing to a theological system that we find in the writings of the Church of the Brethren. Yet these books do not discuss the subjects in great detail. They are more or less a statement or outline of the particular doctrines dealt with. It is important to note that the above report recommends that Conference does not formally approve the book lest it become a creed. The same attitude was taken toward the Brethren's card which came before Conference for adoption in 1922 and 1923 in which a number of doctrines were set forth for acceptance.

Besides these books the Brethren have taught doctrine through their church papers and made provision for more formal instruction through Sunday-school study material. This last step was begun in 1929 through the approval of Annual Meeting.

There are reasons for what progress has been made in the development and formulation of an outline of a theological system. The continual pressure upon a religious group to keep its distinctiveness and define and declare its beliefs makes for development and expression of theology in some form. The development of religious education and especially the growth of seminary training for religious workers tends to increase an interest in and a development of the expression of theological subjects.

The most important reason of all, however, is the felt need of material which can be used in the instruction of new converts. In the Preface of his book, *An Outline of the Fundamental Doctrines of Faith,* p. 7, Bro. Kurtz makes the following statement: "This little booklet has been written to meet a need in my own church. Most of the new converts who are baptized into this church have not come from parents who were members of the Church of the

2. Minutes of Annual meeting of the Church of the Brethren, 1910-1917; p. 6 of the Minutes of 1916.

Brethren, nor have they had other means of becoming acquainted with her teachings. Inasmuch as we do not have a catechism to indoctrinate our new members, I felt the need of a concise statement of the fundamental doctrines of our faith."

The same idea finds expression in the following queries which came before Conference at different times:

(1) We, the Antietam congregation, in council assembled, do send to Annual Meeting, through District Meeting of the Southern District of Pennsylvania the following petition: Will not this Annual Meeting take steps to supply what has been thought by many to be a real need of the Church,—a small book for converts, the object being to instruct and indoctrinate these converts in the principles and practice of true religion. (Minutes of Annual Meeting of 1913, p. 4.)

(2) Whereas, God's Word instructs us to teach and baptize, and after baptism to "teach all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (Matt. 28: 19-20), and since it is evident that many are lost to the kingdom after baptism, for the lack of proper teaching, we, the Green Hill Church, petition Annual Meeting, through District Meeting of the First District of Virginia, to devise some plan whereby the elder or pastor, in charge of churches where series of meetings are held, which result in members being brought into the church, give a series of instructive teachings, immediately following baptism, on the fundamentals of the Christian life. (Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting 1778-1922, p. 153, a minute of Annual Meeting of 1916.)

(3) Whereas, there seems to be an apparent decline in attitude to matters of faith, doctrine, and practice as set forth in the Holy Scriptures, and as held by the Church, and

Whereas, much of the curricula of instruction used in the Sunday school and young people's work is inadequate to build Christlikeness in spirit, thought, and expression in all the different grades and departments of church work,

Therefore, we, the members of the First Church of the Brethren, Ashland, Ohio, beg leave to ask Annual Meeting through District Meeting to appoint a committee of able and representative brethren to pursue a careful study of the field, and to make recommendations at the 1929 Conference. (Minutes of Annual Meeting of 1929 p. 7.)

In the open development of interest in and expression of theological subjects the Brethren have adhered to all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as professed by the Protestant churches generally. They have also insisted that these doctrines be thoroughly Biblical. The development of the following doctrines have received their attention: Doctrine of God, Doctrine of Christ, Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Doctrine of the Bible, Doctrine of the Church, Doctrine of Man, Doctrine of Sin, Doctrine of Salvation, Doctrine of Immortality.

From the beginning of the Church until the present we can see progress in the Church in the open interest and expression of theology. Yet in spite of this progress I think we can still say with Bro. Miller, "In the subtilities of speculative theology the church takes but little interest. She is chiefly concerned in giving willing and cheerful obedience to the plain, simple commandments of Jesus Christ."

WOULD SAINT FRANCIS MAKE A GOOD DUNKER?

Vernon Miller

Should we Dunkers take Saint Francis as our patron saint? would perhaps be a more pertinent question. Most of us (or at least I was) have been so prejudiced in our stereotyped thinking about the Catholics and anything connected with the papacy that we have refused to open our eyes to the rich values which lie within the crust which we grant may be somewhat dirty and smelly in spots. I had never thought of the possibility of baptizing a Catholic saint. However, after spending several weeks living with one of the finest personalities of all Christendom who was a Catholic saint even before he died, I can almost see him coming down the aisle in a rugged log church house in response to a Dunker farmer's invitation. Brother Francis would be right at home. He and all his followers addressed each other as "brother" just as Brother Alexander often spoke to Brother Peter. Just imagine! Here we have two points already why Brother Francis (let's drop the "Saint," for I know he would want us to) would like our fellowship. First, he would like a rugged church in contrast to an elaborate one. In fact he would rather not have any at all, but just the great out of doors. He never allowed his friars to establish a church as long as he had control. Secondly, the term "brother" is the common term of address for both Dunkers and Franciscans.

But we cannot even talk about Francis or Dunkers without finding common terminology. We just used that word fellowship. For us Dunkers that was our starting point and has been our medium for

progress ever since. For Francis it was an essential part of his movement.[1]

We had Brother Francis on his way down the aisle though. He wanted to be baptized. We can only humbly ask him why he wants us to baptize him (at least if we are as honest as John the Baptist we will). Francis would probably merely reply that it was just because it was so beautiful, and just like Jesus did. His biographers would say that it was because Francis was always seeking for ways to dramatize the life of Christ in his own life. It is to our friend Brother Francis that we owe the habit of decorating a manger scene for our worship at Christmas. He got that happy idea one Christmas and fixed it up. The world has been doing it ever since. So I am sure he would be in ecstasy of highest joy if he could be led down into the water and immersed three times as a living drama of the life of Christ. In fact I imagine that the only reason he never did was that he did not think of it. Then along this line of drama I am sure that he would enjoy the old Dunker drama of fellowship at salutation—the holy kiss. I can see Francis singing along some Umbrian cowpath across the clover fields when he would meet Brother Juniper. The holy kiss would be a delightful staccato in the melody and they would then joyfully join in a carefree duet.

Since we have Brother Francis baptized, do you not think we had better give him a little catechism? Being a Catholic, he should expect it. Being Dunkers, we will think a Catholic needs it. But we do not have any such thing as a catechism. Well, why not use the little outline which Brother Kurtz has suggested for us. This will suit Francis because it is short and not very theological. And really I am wrong in saying he would expect a catechism for he would accept anyone on their good intentions. In fact he opposed learning and study. Here again we must point out a similarity. The Dunkers during certain periods have been opposed to education.

Kurtz lists two basic foundations of the Dunkers.[2] The first is that the living Christ is the creed of the Church. Brother Francis would clap his hands in joy at this. As one of his Catholic biographers says, "The ideal of Francis was to make Christ Himself the Rule. Christ's words would be the words of the rule which thus

1. Cf. Miller, v, *The Individual-Fellowship Approach to Social Change.*
2. See Appendix.

would carry in itself its own sanction."[3] All the other orders had to have a Rule, but not Brother Francis! He went to the Pope in 1209 to get permission to preach and have some friars live with him. He would not offer a complicated and systematic Rule. His request was based on the simple desire to live like Christ. "The cardinals were amazed. Amazed that anyone should really take Christ at His word. Some laughed cynically; others shook their heads, admiringly, but doubtingly; others suggested that they must be directed towards one of the ancient orders: what was good enough for Benedict should be good enough for them."[4] He was given permission to preach. But he would not allow the order to be written. All he asked for was consent and approval by word of mouth. How similar indeed must have been his words with his companions on the trip to and from Rome if they could be compared with the discussion of the small group of eight at Schwarzenau in 1708.

Christ came into Francis' life in a very definite and real way. One day Francis was trying to figure out his problems of life. He was praying in a wayside chapel. Somewhere in that chapel of San Damiano that day the words were heard, "Francis, go and repair My church, which as you see is falling into ruin." Exultant he jumped up. By this miracle Christ had clearly accepted him. He had a Master to follow and love, in whose service no danger could be too great. He really and actually loved Christ—a Christ as vivid and warm as Leo and Clare. He loved Him, not in the way of duty, but in the way of young love. Therefore the agony of Calvary was something terrible to him and the thought lived with him always, "I do not suffer enough."[5] Certainly the "living Christ was the creed" of Brother Francis. He lives up better than we to our ideal that each member should have a real evangelical conversion: should see Christ and choose to follow Him. Francis was forever going on dangerous missions to preach the Gospel of Christ just as our missionaries often risk their safety in the foreign native fields of primitive lands and the war-torn lands of civilization. Has their motivation been because they wanted to share the pain of the crucified Christ?

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3. Dubois, L., *St. Francis of Assisi, Social Reformer,* p. 120.
4. Raymond, E., *In the Steps of St. Francis,* p. 109.
5. *Ibid.,* pp. 45, 209.

The second basis of foundation for the Dunkers according to Brother Kurtz is that "the New Testament is the rule of faith and practice." For both the Dunkers and Francis this is almost inseparable with the basis of belief in Christ as the center. When finally the Church did get Francis to write a Rule, it was merely a conglomeration of scripture quotations from the New Testament tempered and flourished all the way through with the fanciful love of Brother Francis. He accepted Christ's suggestions to His disciples almost literally. He and his friars left all behind them and went from community to community. We Dunkers do not take that passage literally, but there are many passages we do. For instance our love feast is an actual re-enactment of the drama presented in the Gospels. This would appeal very much to Brother Francis because it was based on the New Testament account, because it was following the life of Christ as an example and because it was drama.

Then Brother Kurtz outlines our Dunker "ideals." First is "Peace." He could not have done better to fit into our comparison with Brother Francis. His was ever a life of peace. First is "peace with God." Brother Francis' whole life was one of seeking unity with God. From his periods of unity with God, or in other words peace with God which is necessary for unity, he attained a peace in his own heart which he then tried to spread among all men. This follows our outline exactly. After "peace with God" we list "peace of God in human hearts" and then "peace with our fellowmen." In this latter Brother Francis was indeed a master and marvellously successful. His success here proves that he had the previous two experiences or he could not have done the wonderful things he did.

On one occasion the bishop and the podesta of Assisi were having a quarrel. It was late in Francis' life. He had earlier settled wars between various city states of Italy. Now he was too feeble to come to the scene himself. But he wrote a poem and used his brothers to carry his words to the enemies. "The script ready, he sent a messenger to both parties to tell them that Brother Francis wanted them to assemble in the courtyard of the bishop's palace. He had something for them to hear. Strange inversion of power here! Nearly twenty years earlier, magistrates and bishop had

been summoning Francis, and in the bishop's case to the same palace; now Francis an empty vagrant, possessing nothing in the world except his clothes was summoning them, and without hesitation they came."[6] The enemies listened together to "The Canticle to the Sun." In this simple poem Francis had put himself, his own spirit. The men who knew him could not help but catch it. They fell in each other's arms and the quarrel which had been on the verge of hostilities ceased. Such indeed is the ideal of us Dunkers. We have been hauled into the courts and now sent off naked to the hills. Will we have earned the right in twenty years to return and summon those who summoned us and sit around a table of friendship with them and their enemies to create a living peace?

Francis lived in a world of war also. Nor could he stay at home without doing something to attempt to bring Christ to the front to stop the killing and destruction. In his day the wars were being fought for the tomb and in the name of Christ which is not too far different from today when they are being fought for democracy, the so-called spirit of Christ. Either one is just as great a hypocrisy. Francis went out to the actual battle lines of the Crusadès. "The idea had been the result of the victory of the Christian armies at Las Navas in Spain. In July, 1212, they had overthrown the Moorish power with such a roar of collapse as resounded through the Catholic world. To Francis this reverberating victory must have meant, first, a thrill of delight, and then an outrush of pity for the fallen foe. And so the new idea leapt up in him. Why not try for a change to win the infidels by love? You could do nothing—nothing at all—by all this hate. And nothing—nothing in the end—by force. All his sight and all his experience told him that this was true of individual men: it must be true also of peoples. Force and violence and vindictive punishment only hardened their recalcitrance. Forgiveness and the refusal to punish or hurt them and the persistent returning of good for evil, broke their hostility down—slowly but very surely. In the long run force failed as surely as love conquered. One day, perhaps, the Church would really believe that its founder had been right; and in the meantime it was for Him to act out His teaching before the world and prove it true. He would go on his own crusade. He would send his army.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

An army in grey frocks carrying nothing but the weapons of the Master, which were love, persuasion, patience, and faith in the goodness of men. He would go into the camps of the Saracens and call them brothers — "Good morning, good people." He would go to Syria or Egypt where their great men were to be found. If they martyred him; no matter, that would be the beginning of something. Something that would work."[7] Francis did go to the infidels. Incidentally he found on the way that perhaps the Christian (?) armies needed more teaching of love than the infidels. But the native charm of Brother Francis plus his power which he drew by communion with God did have some effect on the Sultan. He made a footprint in the sands. The Christians soon trampled it out with their spurred boots and washed it away with blood. But his brothers continued to minister to the soldiers of the Crusades on both sides in their hope that they could do the impossible. Do you not wish the Brethren Service Committee could send Brother Francis to Asia or Europe today?

After Brother Kurtz suggests that we Dunkers want "no war with its hate and bloodshed" he next suggests that we believe in no force in religion." Even "in meeting the infidels, Francis' stable resolve was, 'I will not fight them nor force them nor argue. I will teach by example rather than by word. I will not dispute like a pamphleteer, but just create my vision like an artist creates and leave it for those who can see.' As Celano put it, Francis' method was 'to make a tongue of his whole body.' "[8]

Next we Dunkers believe in "no litigation in pagan courts for selfish purposes." One time Brother Francis mentioned his attitude toward courts in a conversation with Bishop Guido: "My lord Bishop," he said, "if we had possessions, we should need weapons to defend them. Possessions produce quarrels and lawsuits, and these are the opposite of the love of God and our neighbor. For this reason I and my brothers, who desire to live only in love, are resolved to own no property whatever in the world. We are going to trust completely in God to provide us

7. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

with a roof at night and food by day."[9] What closer agreement to Dunker thinking could we get here? Except that the disavowal of property goes a little more in extreme this might have been Brother Hays talking to Abe Lincoln. Therefore we can pass Brother Francis on two more questions of his entrance exam. He was a very positive pacifist. He opposed wealth and property about one hundred ninety-nine per cent more than we Dunkers.

On the ideal of temperance I am sure that Francis would endorse that "the body has a sacred purpose, hence must be pure and free from all that injures it; temperance in all that is good; and abstinence from all that is evil." Dubois says just this when he says for Francis, "Brother body was the creature of God and as such had all of Francis' sympathy. Yet in his mind it was always subordinate to the higher power in man—the soul. . . . Francis instinctively saw the dignity of the human soul. Through the body he tried to reach the soul. When he blamed his brethren for having refused an alms to the brigands, it was because he saw in the alms the first step toward spiritual reform. The body was to be kept in subjection or nourished according to the needs of the soul."[10] The similarity of these two statements is significant and nothing more need be said.

Then Brother Kurtz says that an important ideal of our Dunker heritage has been "the spiritual life or the simple life." This he adds is "in contrast with the life of worldliness and luxury which has caused the downfall of peoples and nations." I think that by this time we surely have Brother Francis right down in the amen corner. His every effort and desire was to live on the spiritual level, to attain unity with reality, to live with God. He also saw that to accomplish this, one must get away from the thoughts of this world which will mire one down. As he told the Bishop, he opposed anything "which put obstacles of any kind to the love of God and our neighbor. This is why we wish to possess nothing in this world."[11] He was living in another world. He only used this world as it led to that one. He realized that there was nothing essentially evil in worldly things except as they

9. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
10. Dubois, L., *St. Francis of Assisi, Social Reformer*, p. 154.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

keep one from the spiritual level of life. Therefore he advocated a feeling of detachment from all these things if they were possessed. However he knew that that is difficult to do. Therefore he suggested reducing life to as simple a level as was required for each individual to attain this detachment. If the individual felt he wanted to go the whole way and live in absolute poverty, so much the better. He would then be an example to others, and an apostle to the world.

Riches and material wealth is one form of worldliness. We do not realize how many of our Dunker customs come from the attempt to live a life separated from wealth so that we could live closer to God. That is why the form of dress was held to. It was cheaper. It symbolized the fact that we were not spending lavishly to clothe our backs. Did you know that your grandpa's whiskers were in testimony to the fact that he was separating himself from the costly habit of shaving? He was a good sandwich advertisement on every sidewalk to the fact that here was a man who was turning aside from wealth to come to God. Of course you know that all the discussion and tension at Annual Meeting a half century ago about whether to charge for meals was not because they did not have enough money to buy their meals. It was because they did not want to be worldly enough and have enough to do with money to run a restaurant. How this reminds us of Brother Francis calling in his five thousand brothers for a general chapter meeting without making a single preparation for housing or feeding them. How Cardinal Ugolino did blow off then. I think though that I would give up having the pleasure of seeing that scene at the Chapter of Mats if I could have seen its duplicate at Annual Meetings around the time of the "divide."

On this matter of wealth I think that maybe Brother Francis used a little more discretion than some of us later Dunkers have. I do think that Brother Mack and some of the early brethren did see it about the way he did. But during the days following I think many times we have acclaimed wealth as inherently evil of itself. Brother "Francis never attacked riches in themselves as intrinsically evil. He understood that they were a source of much trouble and misery. The rich should avoid those excesses, lordly man-

ners and luxurious life, which perhaps more than the difference of fortune and condition vexed and embittered the poor and the lowly. . . . Francis' object was to decrease the wants in order to increase happiness. The brothers were happier than other men because they had fewer wants and desires than others. Tomas Celano says that 'possessing nothing, they were attached to nothing and feared the loss of nothing. Distracted by no care, without any trouble or anxiety, they expected the morrow without fear.' "[12]

Brother Francis realized "the importance of attention as directing desire, the power of the whole-hearted desire. Poverty was a means of avoiding division of desire . . . willingness was essential to poverty, for poverty without it was to no avail."[13] Poverty made it possible to think on the spiritual things. He did not have to come home at night and worry about how the books would balance. "Whoever was free at heart from all material servitude, whoever was decided to live without hoarding, every rich man who was willing to labor with his hands and loyally distribute all that he did not consume in order to constitute the common fund which Brother Francis call 'The Lord's Table,' every poor man who was willing to work, free to resort in the strict measure of his wants to this table of the Lord, these were at that time true Franciscans. It was a social revolution."[14] That was the Lord's Table at St. Mary of the Angels, but it was consumed by the selfish flames of institutionalism which were too well fanned by Ugolino and Brother Elias. We, too, had that table of the Lord at Schwarzenau. Has every splinter of it been burned by the slow smouldering of adaptation to the industrial revolution and the leaping flames of denominationalism? I wish I knew.

This simplicity leading to spirituality was evident in both the Franciscan and Dunker preachers. Brother Wieand suggests in a recent article that "some years ago before our men knew anything except their Bibles, but knew their Bibles, especially the New Testament, thoroughly well and took the twelfth chapter of Romans for example and gave an exposition of it making the applications of

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 196.
13. Nicholson, *The Mysticism of St. Francis,* chap. v.
14. Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis,* p. 156.

it to everyday living . . . that preaching was as good as anything that can be furnished."[15] Dubois similarly says of the Franciscans that "the preaching of the new apostles, if indeed it may be called preaching was very simple. 'The man of God did not properly preach to the people, but when passing through towns and castles, simply exhorted them to love God and fear Him and to do penance for their sins.' . . . Preaching . . . was not the stiff, official, or scholastic preaching which was customary at that time, but rather popular appeals. The desire of Francis was that his companions preaching to the people and for the people, in the streets or fields as well as in the churches wherever men could be gathered together, should preach from the heart, should preach peace, charity, Christian happiness, employing simple ordinary language understood by all."[16] Yes, I believe we would be very content to have Brother Francis preach at First Church or Prairie Creek.

No one, not even remarkable Brother Francis, can jump up in the air and stay there unless he has grasped something above him and holds on to it for his support. But Francis when he leaped up into the spiritual atmosphere did find God and held on to what he had found. The ensuing picture is indeed as fascinating as the man on the flying trapeze, for Brother Francis was an artist. "It is bound to be interesting . . . because his life story . . . is just about the most human and the most moving in the libraries of Christendom. There never was a more dramatic tale lying to the hand of the novelist . . . there never was a saint less well read in the lives of the saints, never a teacher more happily ignorant of most of the teachings of the Church that he loved, never a preacher more likely to be tripped up over a passage in the Bible; he just did with simplicity and ignorantly what you and I won't do; he dared in the end to let the Real come through. He dared to let the eternal truth in him conquer all; which is simply to say he let the surging love in him determine his every movement and thought; and if a man does this, he must stir up drama like dust at every step."[17] How spiritual! How simple! How easy it is to live a spiritual life after all. You don't have to have even a high school diploma to

15. Wieand, A. C., *"The Greatest Preachers in the World,"* Gosp. Mess., Apr. 25, 1942.

16. Dubois, *St. Francis of Assisi, Social Reformer,* pp. 42, 49.

17. Raymond, *In the Steps of St. Francis,* p. 7.

live that way. Such has been the claim of Francis and Dunkers. But you do have to have a spiritual vision and live according to it even to the uttermost. "But to give up all! Oh, the curse of being granted spiritual vision. Fame must go, and the delight of dress and ostentation, and parade and the pleasures of the flesh—yes, if he were to follow to the farthest point he could see, if he were to respond to the most distant call, he must give up the sweetness of having his own bride. . . . But it is one thing to see a vision and another to amass the courage to create it. Wondering if he could ever, ever conquer his need of applause, his love of self-decoration, and his fastidious recoil from dirt and disease; he wandered more frequently alone. He took to climbing the mountains till he was far away from men and alone with the leaves. He found a cave where he could sit with his thoughts or kneel unperceived in prayer. He was praying for strength to conquer the body and let the spirit win."[18] Both Francis and the Dunkers have leaped away from worldly things to a vision of spiritual reality here on earth. Each have seen the method as being through the simple life.

The Dunkers have opposed education as being an elaboration not necessary and even detracting from spiritual life. "Francis saw all round him something like a craze for the possession of learning. The first half of the thirteenth century was marked by a kind of gold rush for the ornaments of learning. . . . He saw that learning is not wisdom because wisdom comes only when the apprehensions of the heart and the spirit are joined to those of the mind. . . . 'A man's knowledge is as great as his deeds,' he said. . . . He saw the same dangers in the accumulation of learning as in the accumulation of property: pride, jealousy, and separation. They had not donned his habit and cord for this. They had come to perfect themselves in love, not learning. Love would teach them all they needed for their work. Love alone could know God: 'By love alone He can be gotten and holden, by thought never.' Real love taught in a flash what a hundred volumes could never teach a man. 'Only those that do the will shall know the doctrine'; and Francis wanted his men to speak with authority and not as the scribes. And lastly love alone could win men. 'There is a defense against learning, but there is no defense against love. . . . Not by what

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 32.

a brother minor argues will the people be won, but by what he is.' "[19] Could there be any more appealing statements to a true Dunker spirit?

The red letter fault for Dunker discretion is none other than *PRIDE!* Never let it be said that any good Dunker has ever been proud of anything. Utter humility is the ideal by which we can attain spiritual life. "Brother Francis avoided praise and accepted blame. He condemned spiritual envy as proceeding from the lower self. He fought against the spiritual complacency"[20] which brings a decline in spiritual life. Complacency comes when we think we are just right, when we have pride. Indeed "it would be a mistake to take Francis for one of those inspired ones who rush into action upon the strength of unexpected revelations and thanks to their faith in their own infallibility overawe the multitude. On the contrary he was filled with real humility and if he believed that God reveals Himself in prayer, he never absolved himself from the duty of reflection nor even from reconsidering his decisions."[21] Thus he even carried his humility to his spiritual life. Laurence Housman picturesquely reflects this attitude by the words of Brother Juniper: "O Lord, what am I going to do with myself? If they'd cook me and eat me, I'd be useful to 'em for one day at any rate. But I'm like a cart off its wheels and stuck in a rut, and in the way just."[22]

The next ideal which Brother Kurtz outlines for us is that of "brotherhood." This expresses itself in absolute belief in "no slavery and no caste; equality in all human relations." Dubois says about Brother Francis on this matter that "while he admitted the distinction of classes in the social order he saw that the members of one class were abusing their power and authority to oppress the members of a weaker class. The lords were treating the serfs as slaves rather than as brothers and Francis reminded them of the duty of masters to their servants. The superiors of the order were not to be called abbots nor priors, but ministers to show that they must be the servants of those who were under their care

19. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
20. Nicholson, *The Mysticism of St. Francis,* chap. ii.
21. Sabatier, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
22. Housman, *Little Plays of St. Francis,* Vol. II, p. 122.

and in this way they were to give to the world an example of the true Christian relations which must exist between the higher and lower classes. The lords were received into the Third Order on the same conditions as the serfs and the serfs were their equals in all that concerned the administration and privileges of the order. . . . At the same time that this association brought strength to the people it inculcated on them the duty of solidarity in a manner stronger than ever before. The guilds had brought together men of the same trade, but between the different corporations bitter rivalries often existed. The Third Order united all men; not only the members of the municipality, but also cities and provinces and even nations were leagued together so that the Third Order was really an international association which showed to all men their duty to unite in the cause of good, in opposition to the selfishness and the cruelty of the favored few."[23]

Then Brother Kurtz says that the brotherhood is expressed in "the family spirit in worship and in life." Francis will have little trouble understanding this. He organized his brothers as a family if you can say that he organized them at all (most of the organization was by others). He just let them live together and they grew together. Is not that the way a family does? This Brotherhood and Fellowship are predominate factors and I would almost say the determining factors of success in both the Franciscan and Dunker movements.[24]

Finally Brother Kurtz suggests that the Dunkers believe in "religion as life." It is "in contrast with religion as mere creeds and cults; the Christian religion means oneness, likeness, harmony with Christ." Did the fellowship at Schwarzenau come up the bank from the Eder; go into Brother Alexander's front room; sit around the table and write down a creed by which to live or a constitution for these eight charter members? No, they just *lived* together in closer and closer unity with each other and with their God. Ernest Raymond says of Brother Francis that after his conversion "he filled up with energy. He had the spiritual energy to lift weights which yesterday he could hardly have moved from

23. Dubois, *St. Francis of Assisi, Social Reformer,* pp. 190, 193.

24. For further detail see paper: "The Individual and Fellowship Approach to Social Change," Vernon Miller.

the ground. He had the physical energy to drive himself to anything. Now this access of energy is a significant phenomenon, most worthy of emphasis. It derived, I feel certain, from his achievement of a *sense of unity* with the whole world. He had destroyed that hampering draining separateness and felt *one with everyone* everywhere."[25] I am sure that Brother Francis would place much more emphasis on his unity of feeling with Christ as leading to his unity with others. He would have said that unity with reality and others is unity with Christ. But for a modern novelist Brother Raymond comes along even farther than we might expect.

The desire of Francis was not to build up or support dogmas about Christ but to live like Christ had lived. Thus it is very plain that for him religion is life. He never wanted to write out a Rule for his order; he just wanted them to follow his example as he followed Christ's example. When he did write out Rules, it was only under protest and their content was merely putting into words the example of Christ.

Such a life of unity with Christ could not but lead to great accomplishments and experiences by the man who had so lived. The stories of these accomplishments tell us that Francis performed miracles of healing and blessing to those who were in need. The stories of these experiences tell us that once on the Isola Maggiore, Francis fasted the forty days of Lent while in deep meditation; and that another time on the rugged slopes of Mount La Verna he had such close unity with Christ that he went through Christ's sufferings with Him and when he came back he had the stigmata on his body. Some call these stories of the miracles, the fast and the stigmata mere legends from the imaginary minds of the thirteenth century. I agree with Brother Raymond when he says, "I can argue with you the probability of La Verna's miracle. I can tell you that for me the miracle is in the spiritual moment attained to and not in its physical accompaniment. And yet I hardly think it a miracle at all because I do like to hope that all men will one day attain to this transcendental consciousness of unity with the One who is the All. That the agony of Francis passing into unity should have left upon his body the scars of the wounds of Christ seems to me beautiful in its aptness, but secondary in its importance and not

25. Raymond, *In the Steps of St. Francis*, p. 41.

physiologically strange. When men of science, materially minded, tell me that it is quite possible to raise blisters on the skin of the hypnotized subject by touching him with a finger and telling him it is a red-hot iron, I am not greatly troubled by the stigmata of Francis, nor by the fact that though they are the first recorded instance of the phenomenon, they are not the last."[26] Here indeed is a man whom we Dunkers could well take as the very ideal of showing that religion is life; that it is not the sacrament, but the experience; that such a Christian life can be carried to oneness, likeness, and harmony with Christ.

In conclusion there are a few other things in our heritage which we might just mention as being very similar to elements of Brother Francis' movement. First, our free ministry is very similar to his desire to keep the brothers from becoming a hierarchy. They were only to take what they needed to live as alms from begging, but they were even to work for their needs if it was possible. Secondly, we have already mentioned one aspect of similarity between our Annual Meeting and the General Chapter meetings. On their whole structure, purpose, and development these are very much alike. And finally, our rural culture and appreciation of nature is very like the love which Francis had for the out of doors, mountains, trees, animals, and birds. This was one of the great impulses of his life.

Would Saint Francis make a good Dunker? Shall we baptize him? Yes, I believe he would make a better Dunker than most of us. But please do not baptize him. We might kill the possibility of the powerful influence of his spirit. If we let his spirit get into us, it may do things. With Schwarzenau pulling on our baptized hand and Francis pulling on our other we could be led to Christ. I see the possibility that such a pull might lead us to the positive applying of Christ to our day which we have been seeking. Christ in the C.P.S. Camps. Christ in labor and industry. Christ in agriculture. Christ in business. Christ in the press. Christ in the movies. Christ in education. Christ in government: local, national and international. Christ in economics. Yes, Christ in our church.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

APPENDIX*

Ideals of the Church of the Brethren

D. W. Kurtz

A. Foundation

I. The living Christ is the creed of the Church.

II. The New Testament is the Rule of faith and practice.

B. Ideals

I. Peace.
   1. Peace with God.
   2. Peace of God in human hearts.
   3. Peace with our fellow men.
      a. No war with its hate and bloodshed.
      b. No force in religion.
      c. No litigation in pagan courts for selfish purposes.

II. Temperance.
   1. The body has a sacred purpose, hence must be pure and free from all that injures it.
   2. Temperance in all that is good.
   3. Abstinence from all that is evil.

III. The spiritual life or the simple life.
   1. In contrast with the life of worldliness and luxury which has caused the downfall of peoples and nations.

IV. Brotherhood.
   1. No slavery. Church of the Brethren always against slavery.
   2. No caste. Equality in all human relations.
   3. The family spirit in worship and in life.

V. Religion as life.
   1. In contrast with religion as mere creeds and cults.
   2. The Christian religion means oneness, likeness, harmony with Christ.

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* This is in essence the outline of the paper.

CHARITY IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Mary Schaeffer

The coming of Constantine to the throne at Rome meant a victory for Christianity in so far as having to endure persecution was concerned. The Church never was the same as the early Church after this. The simplicity of the early organization was gone. Wealth was poured into the Church by being allowed to have property. The charity which had been congregational and an expression of love for humanity, was institutionalized, and the motive back of acts of charity was changed.

The world of that day was a perishing world. The pomp of the court took a lot of money. This in turn caused heavy taxation, and then land had to be sold for taxes. Soldiers were farming for themselves to make money and thus did not resist the invasion of the barbarians. People flocked to the cities because they were afraid of robber hordes. This only increased the misery. The country became desolate. There was much misery and suffering. People sold their freedom for bread to eat. Slaves could no longer be sold, and became serfs, but freemen also became serfs for they could not leave the land they tilled.

"Only in the region of the Church was there liberty. If anyone entered the service of the Church or became a monk, settled in the desert, went into a monastery, he was free; he shook off the whole burden at once. Hence that pressure into the Church's service, that fleeing from the world, that rapid increase of monasticism, until the State there too intervened, there too drew limits, forbidding entrance into the service of the Church or into a monastery to one, and uniting it with certain conditions to another."[1]

There was wealth but it was unequally distributed. There was no one to hinder the oppression of the poor but the Church. Inequality reigned. Then followed the invasions of the barbarians and the country was left desolate. Misery was universal. The State did not help the poor; it was left to the Church. In fact the Church was at times blamed for having caused beggary by their almsgiving, because the people did not see that their government was fall-

1. Ulhorn, *Charity in the Ancient World*, p. 241.

ing into ruins, and with it their country. The Doctrine of Almsgiving was preached as "An offering to God by the rich, a gift from God to the poor."[2]

Early Period

"As a result of the freedom and social importance which the Church obtained through the victory of Constantine, she was called upon to relieve the distress not merely of her own children but of the whole population."[3]

The reason these needs were so great was due to the relentless and grinding usury of money lenders, corruption, cruelty and extravagance of civil officials and then the invasion of the hordes from the North. Where were the moneys to come from for all this charity? In the third and fourth century the sources of relief were from the oblations at mass, the collections on fast days, and other extraordinary collections, but these were not so fruitful as in the earlier days. There were some new sources of relief. The emperors and the wealthy gave great gifts to the Church. Through wills and through deathbed conversions much was given to the Church. The Church referred to such gifts as "Patrimony of the Poor." The relief for the poor became a primary function of the Church at this time.

Many of the leaders and bishops did much teaching on the subject of almsgiving. Athanasius in the *Life of Anthony* in speaking of the effect of a good life on demons says, "At any rate they fear the fasting, the sleeplessness, the prayers, the meekness, the quietness, the contempt of money and vainglory, the humility, the love of the poor, the alms . . . their piety towards Christ."[4] In an Easter letter Athanasius says, "Let us remember the poor and not forget kindness to strangers; above all let us love God with all our soul, and might, and strength, and our neighbor as ourselves."[5] In another letter he says, "Now we are clothed with Him, when we love virtue, and are enemies to wickedness, when we exercise ourselves in temperance and mortify lasciviousness, when we love righteousness before iniquity, when we honor sufficiency, and have strength of mind when we do not forget the poor, but open our

2. *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. III, p. 597.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 596.
4. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. IV, p. 204.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 510.

doors to all men, when we assist humble-mindedness but hate pride."[6]

Jerome (397 A.D.) commends Pammachius, a Roman senator who became a monk and lived a life of self-denial upon the death of his wife Paulina, "All that formerly ministered to luxury is now at the service of virtue. That blind man holding out his hand, and often crying aloud when there is none to hear, is the heir of Paulina, is co-heir with Pammachius. That poor cripple who can scarcely drag himself along, owes his support to a tender girl. Those doors which of old poured forth crowds of visitors, are now beset only by the wretched. One suffers from dropsy, big with death; another mute and without means of begging, begs the more appealingly because he cannot beg; another maimed from his childhood implores an alms which he may not himself enjoy. . . . Such is the bodyguard which accompanies Pammachius wherever he walks; in the persons of such he ministers to Christ Himself; and their squalor serves to whiten his soul. . . . Other husbands scatter the graves of their wives with roses, violets, lilies and purple flowers . . . but Pammachius also waters the holy ashes and the revered bones of Paulina, but it is with the balm of almsgiving."[7] This is one of the finest tributes to charity as a memorial to one who has passed on, that one can find, and shows that even in the fourth century they found better things than to say it with flowers after death. Many memorials were thus given.

Schaff in discussing the charity of this period says, "Private charity continued to be exercised in proportion to the degree of vitality in the Church. The great fathers and bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries set an illustrious example of plain living and high thinking, of self-denial and liberality, and were never weary in their sermons and writings in enjoining the duty of charity."[8] There are many instances of real sacrifice among them. Pope Gregory the Great was a father to the poor; he felt himself responsible when anyone starved to death. One fourth of the Church's income was given to charity at his instigation. However, the administration of relief in this period mostly remained in the hands of the bishops, assisted by the priest, deacons, subdeacons, and deacon-

6. *Ibid.*, p. 516.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 136.
8. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 357.

esses. There were certain houses from which relief was given; these were called deaconiae. Up to this time the vigilance of deacons and deaconesses seemed to have been fairly successful in preventing a waste of charity upon beggars and idlers. So efficient had been their work that even the State as well as the Church recognized the title of "father of the poor and protector of the widows and orphans" for the bishops. But as time went on the giving of charity passed on to other hands and later was institutionalized.

"Perhaps the most striking justification of the common claim that the bishops are the proper recognized helpers and guardians of the poor, the widow, and the orphan, is found in their readiness to convert the communion plate into money for the distressed. 'It is better to save living souls than lifeless metals . . . the ornament of the sacraments is the redemption of captives' are the words which Ambrose defended himself against a charge of sacrilege. Refuge from the tax-burdened world was afforded by monasteries which too often are judged, not by the circumstances which called them into being, but by the abuses which attended their decay. . . . But with superior organization waning, individual effort disappeared; a steward discharged the philanthropic duties of the bishops, deacons, and deaconesses; these waited less on the poor and more on the worship of the Church."[9]

Theodosius was eight years old when Atticus was in the third year of the presidency over the Church of Constantinople; his was a most worthy record. "He was made all things to all men." The almsgiving flourished throughout his administration. He made contributions and transmitted as is brought out in the following letter: "Atticus to Calliopius—salutations in the Lord. I have been informed that there are in your city ten thousand necessitous persons whose condition demands the compassion of the pious. And I say ten thousand designating their multitude, rather than using the number precisely. As therefore I have received a sum of money from him who with a bountiful hand is wont to supply faithful stewards; and since it happens that some are pressed by want, that those who have may be proved, who do not minister to the needy take, my friend, these three hundred pieces of gold and dispose of them as you think fit. It will be your care, I doubt not, to distribute to such as are ashamed to beg, and not to those who through life have sought

9. *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, p. 595.

to feed themselves at others' expense. In bestowing these alms make no distinction on religious grounds; but feed the hungry whether they agree with us in sentiment or not."[10]

The above might have been written into our modern relief program and expresses high sentiments. Jerome in his one hundred and thirtieth letter to Demetrius comments on the sin of covetous and giving in this way by using the saying of Jesus to the rich young ruler, "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor." Jesus did not command it but set the choice before them. Their family was rich; therefore he says, "From the time of your dedication to perpetual virginity your property is yours no longer; or rather it is now first truly yours because it has come to be Christ's. . . . It is yours to clothe Christ in the poor, to visit Him in the sick, to feed Him in the hungry, to shelter Him in the homeless, particularly such as are of the household of faith, to support the communities of virgins, to take care of God's servants, of those who are poor in the spirit, who serve the same Lord day and night, who while they are on earth live the angelic life and speak only praises to God. Having food and raiment they rejoice and count themselves rich."[11] Here Jerome especially teaches to help Christians while Atticus included others.

Gregory Nazianzen on his mother's and father's death speaks thus in giving tribute in their sympathy for the poor. "For he actually treated his own property as if it were another's of which he was but the steward, relieving poverty as far as he could, and expending not only his superfluities but his necessities—a manifest proof of love for the poor giving a portion, not only to seven according to the injunction of Solomon, but if an eighth came forward, not even in his case being niggardly, but more pleased to dispose of his wealth than we know others are to acquire it."[12] Of his mother he said, "What a woman she is! Not even the Atlantic Ocean, or if there be a greater one, could meet her drafts upon it. So great and so boundless is her love of liberality. . . . She not only considers the property which they originally possessed, and what accrued to them later, as unable to satisfy her longing, but she would, as I have often heard her say, have gladly sold herself and her children to slavery, had there been any means of doing so, to expend the proceeds on the

10. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. II, pp. 166, 167. Second Series. Christian Lit. Co., Oxford and London, 1890.

11. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, pp. 268, 269.

12. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 262.

poor." Being wealthy she could well say so for she still gave but it does show a beautiful spirit which one finds through the age in the real spiritual Christians.

Basil in the year 373 A.D. in writing on what he saw at Nicea, that one who wanted to live in poverty should limit himself to one garment and in giving to the poor, wrote, "No one ought to permit himself the distribution of his own property, but should leave it in the hands of the person entrusted with the duty of managing the affairs of the poor, and he proved the point from the Acts of the Apostles and by them it was distributed to each as every man had need. For he said that experience was needed in order to distinguish between cases of genuine need and of mere greedy begging. For whoever gives to the afflicted gives to the Lord, and from the Lord shall have his reward; but he who gives to every vagabond casts to a dog, a nuisance indeed from his importunity, but deserving no pity on the ground of want."[13]

"Like Cyprian before him and like Augustine after him, Hilary insists upon the value of alms in the sight of God. The clothing of the naked, the release of the captive plead with God for remission of our sins; and the man who redeems his faults by alms is classed among those who win His favor, with the perfect in love and the blameless in faith."[14]

All the Church fathers express the highest of sentiments in helpfulness to the poor and to the extent of living in a poor manner themselves.

"Valentinian in 346 A.D. in a proclamation says that the true worship consists in helping the poor and in relieving those in necessity, while he charges the bishops to watch over the poor and save them from exactions. Several of the Christian emperors took under their special protection houses for the orphan and infirm. The code pronounces it a pious duty to support orphan asylums. Justinian code speaks of hospitals for mothers. . . . First hospital is said to have been built in Rome at the end of the fourth century."[15]

The strangers, the sick, the homeless poor, the widows, and the abandoned children all found refuge in these hospitals as well, in

13. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. VIII, p. 208.
14. *Ibid.,* Vol. IX, p. 92.
15. Flick, *Rise of the Medieval Church,* p. 366.

this age. These hospitals did the work of hotels, almshouses, and asylums. During this time Bishop Anastasius had divided Rome into fourteen regions. He founded and endowed deaconries. In the sixth century Gregory the Great created seven districts in Rome ruled over by seven deacons and an archdeacon with a hospital in each district. He himself sold his possessions and gave the proceeds to charity. Many of the Church fathers did the same. One third of the income of the estate belonging to the Church at Rome were given over to charity. This model at Rome for charitable purposes was copied quite extensively at the other places and enlisted the services of many priests, monks, and nuns.

Some of the founders of these hospitals were Fabiola at Rome; St. Pammachius also at Rome; Paulinius in Nola. Poor houses, orphanages, and homes for the aged were likewise begun at this time. Year by year these increased.

"Such institutions were spread over Europe with Christianity by missionary monks."[15] These institutions were planted by it to help and comfort the thousands in this period of war, famine, and pestilence, and to remain as the choicest heritage to the modern from the medieval Church. In theory medieval charity was made one of the chief acts of piety, the most certain means of piety, the most certain means of salvation, and perhaps emphasized too much the benefits to the donor and to his dead relatives, rather than to the worthy recipient.

Before the Middle Ages were really reached, one very important institution was dropped from the Church. That was the Agapae. From being a fellowship meal and communion as it was in the early Church, the two became separated because of the irregularities which crept in. The meal more and more became repasts for the poor which were provided by the rich until at length it degenerated into displays of generosity of their providers and finally in the fifth century were no longer allowed in the churches and was condemned by a council.

Middle Ages

"The first important event in the world of charity after the reign of Gregory the Great was the deterioration that it suffered in Gaul under the Merovingians. Owing to the anarchic social and political conditions of the time and the resulting demoraliza-

tion of the clergy, the poor were all but forgotten, and institutions of charity either disappeared or were diverted to other uses. Although the monasteries discharged their duties fairly well during the early part of Merovingian period, they became involved later on in the general disorder, worldliness, and negligence which reached a climax under Charles Martel. Then came the great lawgiver Charlemagne, who effected a manifold and far-reaching reform. He recovered the Church property that had been misappropriated and re-established the law of tithes, the fourfold division of Church revenues, the oblations during divine service, and the other offerings to the priest for charity, and the custom of regarding all the goods of the Church as primarily the patrimony of the poor."[16]

Charlemagne made the following legislation regarding charity in the Middle Ages according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia:*

1. Bishop the supreme director of charity administration.
2. In feudal states charity is in the hands of the benefice.
3. Feudal lords care for vassals who are needy.
4. Monasteries to resume their former practice of charity.
5. Beggars and idlers and vagabonds put to work.

After the death of Charlemagne his organization of charity fell into decay. Feudal lords and unscrupulous spiritual leaders as well as incompetent clerics exploited the serfs and neglected the poor. Old truths about property and supernatural rewards of almsgiving were still taught as well as the expiation of temporal punishment for sin.

"As regards charity in the Middle Ages, it is clear that at no period in the past have there been larger gifts to the poor. The spirit of Christian liberality was reinforced by the idea that almsgiving, and benefactions for religious purposes were in high degree meritorious. Wealth was poured more and more, without stint, into the lap of the Church. Christian lands were dotted with monasteries, from whose doors the poor, the sick, and the infirm of every sort, were never turned away."[17]

"The excessive and unreasoning almsgiving of European countries, and the monastic associations of the Middle Ages, are a natural reaction from the selfishness of the classic period, and

16. *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. III, p. 597.
17. Fischer, *History of the Christian Church,* p. 234.

sprang from the fearful economic condition in which Europe found itself at the destruction of the Roman Empire. So profound and apparently remediless were the evils of the civilized world, so impossible did it seem then to reach the sources of universal calamity, that a humane person, and above all, one filled with this new love of God and man, might well think he had done enough and the best, in sacrificing all to relieve present misery."[18]

"The history of almsgiving during this period is distinguished by two characteristics. The Church was the only channel of charity; secular government did not undertake to supply the needy or to succor the distressed, but left the task to ecclesiastical organizations. This was the first mark of this epoch. The second was the total lack of any attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the various agencies by which alms were distributed."[19]

These authors well state the conditions of the time. Medieval charity was often injudicious, because there was such wholesale need, and especially in the later period no one was really responsible. Neither was there anything done about removing the causes of poverty and distress that made charity necessary. It was considered inevitable. Poverty was also considered an ideal condition of a Christian disciple. Existence of the poor was considered a blessing because it was a benefit to the giver who often gave for a heavenly reward. They considered the renunciation of property proof of a special consecration to Christ.

Many individuals and families of humble rank devoted their earnings to help the poor with real self-sacrifice, but there was a lack of order; so many institutions were administering charity that several of them sometimes helped the same individuals.

Some of the Penitentials on Almsgiving

"Alms shall not be accepted from any christian who has been excommunicated. It is not permitted to the Church to accept Alms from pagans."[20]

One of the penances of Finnian upon swearing a false oath was never to do it again, release a slave, or the value of a slave

18. Brace, *Gesti-Christi*, p. 104.
19. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 384.
20. *Canons of St. Patric*, p. 78.

must be given to the poor and needy. Alms to the poor must be given as a penance for those who commit adultery.[21]

"For capital offences liberal alms are to be given and fasts kept," Bede.

Roman: "If anyone wishes to give alms for his soul's wealth which was the product of booty, if he has already done penance, he has the right to give it."[22]

In Iceland a rich man received harder punishment than the poor.

Early Welsh law: "If anyone makes strife in front of a Church, he is compelled to pay one silver pound, and this shall be given in alms to the needy."

Many cases of alms were used as a substitute for other penances; rich people sometimes to the half of their wealth as did Zacchaeus.

These are a few of the penitential rules in some of the orders in their relation to almsgiving. Fasting, prayer, and other forms of penance were replaced by almsgiving proportional to the offence of the penitent. Sometimes for the gravest sins there had to be a total renunciation of possessions, and the sinner had to enter a monastery. These things might have helped indulgences along in the thirteenth century, perhaps not in that they could not be used for deadly sins.

Monasteries and Charity

In the three centuries following the death of Charlemagne, most of the work of relieving the poor was transferred to the monasteries from the clergy because most of the Christian life was centered in the monasteries. Gifts were given to the monasteries instead of to the clergy. The monks treated their tenants more humanely than any other landholders. The monastery was a center for the rich and the poor, the high and the low, of innocent youth and of repentant age. They were also refuges for the spiritual or corporal miserable.

When anyone entered the monastery, they gave up their all. These possessions were put into a general fund. "From money so gathered the poor were relieved, the sick supplied with food and medicine, schools were started for children and hospitality provided for travellers. This charity was guided by the wisdom which alone

21. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

could make it truly effective. It was administered by a special official called the Almoner and he was bidden to select carefully the recipients of his alms, and to spare the feelings of those who had seen better days, to visit the sick, and to give no relief permanently without consulting the head of the monastery."[23]

Thus the monasteries until the time when their system of charity went into decay tried to be as careful as were the deacons of the first three centuries of Christianity. But conditions being so much worse, the task was so much greater than in the earlier congregational giving. The monks were very industrious and made work popular and the proceeds of much of their labor went to help the poor, for they themselves lived very simply.

Some of the orders most prominent in helping the poor were the Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Dominicans, and the Franciscans. The porters daily distributed relief at the gate, and if there were those who could not come they were given help in their homes.

There were the Alexian Brothers which were a lay association who took as their work that of burying the dead. They formed a religious organization in 1458 and they still have hospitals. The community of St. Anthony of Venice in the eleventh century ministered to a disease known as St. Anthony's fire. The Trinitarians in the thirteenth century made it their work to ransom captives from the Mohammedans. Bridge Builders made bridges, roads, and inns for the poor and sick travellers, and protected the merchants and travellers against robbers. Every need seemed to be supplied by these brotherhoods. There was also the brotherhood of the Holy Spirit which built hospitals. The Crusaders also built hospitals; these lasted many years, but their usefulness came to an end by the time of the Reformation. There were leper houses to care for the leprosy brought by the Crusaders. A military order of St. Lazarus was organized to meet this plague, but having finished its task and becoming demoralized was dissolved by the Pope at the end of the fifteenth century.

Yet others still carried on to some extent; the diocesan clergy continued to collect and distribute the means of charitable relief and supplied those in the cities who were overlooked by the monasteries, hospitals, and guilds. In the country because the feudal lords were

23. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 384.

responsible, the help of the clergy was confined to strangers. In England the system of parish relief continued with efficiency till the Reformation.

"During the fourteenth and more frequently the fifteenth century, however many abuses got a foothold in the richer monasteries, avarice, luxurious living, lavish entertainment of guests, favoritism of relatives, and other forms of relaxation rendered these institutions unable and unwilling to attend properly to the relief of the distress. Moreover, the mendicant orders withdrew in the later Middle Ages to the towns where they devoted themselves almost exclusively to the contemplative life and to preaching."[24]

Women's Work in Charity

In the early Church the women had a large part in the distribution of charity. At first older widows were used. Later deaconesses in the Church were used but especially in the West their place in the rank of clergy died out as the organization of the Church lost its simplicity. While later they did not have a large part in the distributions, many gave of their wealth for the purpose of helping the poor.

Many monasteries were started by women for women and did a great deal for the poor. In the twelfth century there was a lay sisterhood called Beguines. They cared for the sick, gave instruction to poor girls, also sheltered poor girls and widows. These worked in the Netherlands and Germany. This sisterhood ended in the sixteenth century. A group of women belonging to the third order of St. Francis also worked in behalf of the poor in Germany, France, and Italy.

Among women who gave either their all or much of their wealth were Nona and Gregoria, mother and sister of Gregory and Macrina, sister of Basil, who especially helped during a period of famine. Some women who were early widowed spent their lives in helping the poor. Some made themselves so poor that they in turn had to turn to charity food.

Foundlings were cared for by the Church and while there were no special houses for them, individuals kept and cared for them and the nuns often took them in.

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24. *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. III, p. 598.

Guilds

The guilds at that time formed mutual benefit societies for those within each guild, and these cared for the needy of their group.

In the fifteenth century much of the charities was also taken over by the municipal authorities but even this was built up and encouraged and directed by the Church.

Almsgiving for Benefit to Giver

Much has been hinted at that much of the giving through the Middle Ages was for the benefit of the giver. This already started in the second and third century of Christianity, but grew as time went on. Prayers were sought from the needy for the help they received, for the purpose of forgiveness of sins and for the lightening of the pains of purgatory. There were endowments for institutions of the poor; that is the revenue from these endowments were given to poor who in turn had to pray for the donor or for the repose of his soul. Some required masses said for the benefactor. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century held much of the same views as those held in the time of Gregory. Almsgiving daily atoned for their smaller sins and thus was considered more important even than baptism, as that only forgave past sins; this was a daily cleansing.

"In Gregory the Great, we find this doctrine in as developed a state as that in which it was held in the Middle Ages. The fundamental notion is, that God while He remits guilt, does not remit punishment. This has to be endured by man, and hence repentance must include the satisfaction of a work, in which man inflicts punishment upon himself. He who has done what is not allowed, must deny himself what is allowed, by way of satisfaction; he who has sinned must make up for it by goods. Three kinds of works, however, are now everywhere deemed good: praying, fasting, almsgiving, and of these the latter is esteemed the best and most efficacious. Fasting is good, but almsgiving is better. If anyone can do both, both are well; but if he cannot do both, almsgiving is better. When it is not possible to fast, almsgiving is sufficient. Fasting with almsgiving is doubly good. Thus alms are inserted, as an important item in the plan of salvation. It is they that expiate venal sins, it is they that, to use a

favorite expression, give wings to repentance. All this—I repeat —is under the presupposition of sincere repentance of the heart, of which alms alone are said to be an expression. Frequently do the teachers of the Church bring this forward, and often do they recall it to their hearers' minds, that not the external work, but the loving disposition proved thereby is the main point. Very beautifully says Gregory the Great, in a collection sermon: 'Although in this work all the gifts are not equal, still the love must be equal. For the liberality of the faithful is not estimated according to the largeness of the gift, but according to the amount of benevolent love.' "[25]

To us this seems like a magical form of atonement for sin, for the deliverance of a soul from purgatory and from hell, and since no one knew when they had given enough, more and more was given for the sake of a loved one, and an unscrupulous priest could use this as a strong means of getting funds. Perhaps the famines, poverty, and the stress of the times warranted this means of getting money, yet unless it was thoroughly believed was a poor means of winning the people, for it would give people the idea that they could live as they pleased if only they gave alms and the good teachers of the day tried to combat that idea.

Some of the Results of the Charity of the Middle Ages

The congregational type of giving gave way to the institutional type. There were more larger parishes and few small independent congregations. Then too, some of that first enthusiasm was gone and the people gave less through their regular channels of giving. Through the breakdown of the government, and while a few people became rich, the Church also became very rich. Yet in spite of its riches, the Church kept the equality between the rich and the poor in a marvelous way through the system of helping each other by finances on the one hand and by prayers on the other. This system, however, corrupted into the merit system of giving.

The brotherhoods and sisterhoods found expression for their piety in the helping of the poor as well as in becoming the real religious class of the times and the religious life center for western Europe. They mingled with the people in their almsgiving, thus avoiding extreme asceticism even in the monasteries, and it

25. Ulhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient World*, p. 285.

is sad that these became centers of wealth and their use then was gone.

The result of the merit system and the institutionalizing was that poverty was not done away with neither was beggary, but only increased. There were many donations but the distress was not mastered; real charity no longer corresponded to the gospel and only in the reformation were gospel methods in part revived.

The Church did work for the humane treatment of persons, especially to those taken captive by the enemy, and they redeemed many of them. The Church helped both the Romans and the Germans and made a great appeal to the Germans, for it was new to them. It helped to draw them to the Church, some from pure motives as seen in real giving in love, others for what they could get out of it.

The theory that the right use of wealth meant giving to the Church and the poor was a good thing in this age of great distress. The slogan of many seemed to be to live in "Christlike poverty." Surely the Church could not have grown as it did in this period of suffering if its individual members lived in luxury. The mendicant preachers brought the gospel of love and brotherhood. The Irish missionaries took care of the bodies as well as of the souls of their converts.

The Church or some of her agencies alone seemed to survive the fall of the empire, and the poor and suffering whether Roman or Germanic found her doors open to them receiving both spiritual and material help.

"The poor, who came to get bread to appease their hunger, or a garment to cover their nakedness, or medicine and advice for their sickness, heard at the same time the word of God, preached as well as the Church knew how, received comfort from this source of all comfort, and acquired strength to go on suffering and hoping. If the people did not utterly despair, they owed this to the never ceasing charity of the Church. In fact, it was a great, a marvelously great, work which the Church effected at that time, a work which proves that in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, a new power had entered the world, which even these tempests could not destroy, which, on the contrary, only manifested itself the more great and glorious in the midst of the tempest and the universal misery. The Church could not save the

old world, but she sat at its deathbed with help and comfort, and lighted up its last hours with such an evening glory as the old world had never known in the times of its greatest prosperity. At the same time she stood at the cradle of the new world, of the German Christian world, at the cradle of the Middle Ages."[26]

"To the Middle Ages were also transferred the forms of charity, as they had been already fashioned, the combination of alms with masses for the departed, the memorials, the charitable endowments for the soul's salvation of the deceased, together with hospital and monastery as centers of charity, but all was developed in infinitely more copious variety. No period has done so much for the poor as the Middle Ages. What wholesome distribution of alms; what an abundance of institutions of the most various kinds; what numbers of hospitals for all manner of sufferers; what a series of ministrant orders, male and female, knightly and civil; what self-sacrifice and devotedness: In the medieval period all that we have observed in the ancient Church, first attains its maturity."[27]

However, she also developed the merit system to the full and only in the Reformation period did the primitive notion of alms somewhat come to its own. "In Christianity is given us the remedy for all evils, the inexhaustible source of healthy life, but let us not forget how our Lord says: 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' "[28]

Is the world today equal to the task before her or will the world today come so near yet so far from really answering the needs of her people?

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26. Ulhorn, *Christian Charity in the Middle Ages,* p. 394.
27. Ulhorn, *Charity in the Ancient Church,* p. 396.
28. *Ibid.,* p. 397.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

Paul S. Hersch

The beginnings of modern capitalism certainly have their origin in the expansion of trade in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Some of the leading, growing urban areas of Italy played a major role in this revival of trade with the East. However, before the Crusades, there had only been a taste of the lucrative trade that might be developed. The Crusades then appear to be the major spark which set the wheels of trade rolling. Probably one should not say that it was the Crusades that caused the rise of capitalism, but the Crusades certainly hastened the birth of this new economy. The Crusades burst the already weakened dam of feudalism. They gave the peasants an excellent opportunity to break away from their feudal obligations. The Crusaders would bring back fancy products from the East and resell them at home. This fact itself began to create a desire among the peoples of Europe for the luxury products of the East.

One of the most important factors of the Crusades was that it opened the Mediterranean to Western shipping. Because of this, merchants from Italy and other areas could begin to ply their own trading vessels to the East, and they did not have to use Constantinople as a middleman. With the West as a wide open market, this new class in Europe—the merchants—took ready advantage of the opening of trade with the East on an increasingly large scale.

It is also important to observe that these Italian towns became veritable arsenals as well as general trading centers for the Crusaders. One could say that the Crusades really lit the match that gave new flames to the rise of commerce. The Crusaders discovered the need of money if they were to trade with the Moslems; thus we begin to find the minting of coins on a large scale in this period. Schevill points out that because of this small line of communication that had always been held open to Constantinople, the Western people had gotten a taste of the Eastern wealth.

He feels that this might have been partially the cause of the Crusades themselves. I think we could say that it was an interacting process. The Crusades which were primarily religious in motive also attracted people because of the wealth of the East, and thus all of the Western world became interested in trade with the East. Schevill says, "These articles consisted, besides the much-prized spices for the flavoring of the extremely simple and monotonous diet of the occident, of products indicative of a highly developed civilization, such as jewelry, silks, ivory, and ornaments of gold and silver. It was these precious articles which gave birth among the Western barbarians to the idea of the fabulous wealth of the Orient and which were, though certainly not the main cause, a contributory element in these stirring and perplexing invasions of the near East called the Crusades."[1]

The other side of the coin in this new stimulation of trade is the fact that the West had to have something to trade. The towns in Italy particularly "recognized, subconsciously rather than consciously that if they wished to advance their fortunes by trade they would have to have something to trade with, and this perception led to the stimulation of the local crafts."[2]

However, to get at the real basis for the change from the feudal economy to a capitalistic economy is a bit difficult. Flick is likely right when he says, "Movable property, that is money, became much more important than real property, hence the foundation of the whole feudal system which rested on land, was undermined. Gold became the open sesame and powerful passport to honor and title."[3] I think it certainly is true that the increased use of money was very important. It gave rise to a very important group—the money-changers. As there were so many different coins minted, it took a money-changer to assay the true value of the many different coins. These money-changers then began loaning their excess capital at quite high rates of interest. Yet, we could ask, why was it that money became important to the feudal lords or bishops or abbots? Why could they not operate their great manors as they always had?

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1. Schevill, *History of Florence,* p. 285.
2. Schevill, *op. cit.,* p. 286.
3. Flick, *The Decline of the Medieval Church,* Vol. II, p. 381.

I think Davidsohn has about as good a theory as any at this particular point. Schevill points out[4] that it might be argued that this theory was not true for all Europe, but at least the evidence pertaining to the rise of capitalism in northern Italy seems to substantiate Davidsohn's theory. However, since Italy played the leading role in the early rise of capitalism, I think we should consider Davidsohn's suggestions. In the first place we must remember that in the early Middle Ages, wealth was entirely in the form of land—this land being controlled by bishops, abbots, and secular lords. The fact is that the lord of a manor just did not accumulate a pecuniary reserve. His main return from his vassals was rendered in the form of services and supplies. These large manors were practically self-sufficient. If the castles needed to be protected, the vassals rendered their service to their lord by acting as soldiers. In order to put food on the table, the vassals cultivated the crops, and the lord took his supplies from the results of the harvest. However, as we have seen, commerce and the Crusades intensified the distribution of goods. Of course the result of this was a rise in the standard of living. With the tempting delicacies that became available from the East and with the available jewelry, silks, etc., the feudal lords found it difficult to satisfy their tastes. They just did not have great amounts of cash, and it took money to get the things they wanted. Because of this fact the lords found it necessary to borrow money from the mercatores—a new class of traders. This then was the beginning of the end, when the feudal lord started to borrow money. When they came to the mercatores to transact a loan, it was likely that the mercatore had the merchandise that the lord wanted. Therefore he might not even give the lord actual cash, but simply let him have the goods on a credit basis. Of course a high rate of interest was included in this medieval loan shark's scheme. When the loan came due, very likely the lord would not have the money to liquidate his debt; so he would ask for an extension of time. This time extension would be granted but not until the feudal lord had thrown in an extra field or vineyard as security for his loan. Incidentally, the interest rate might also be raised. By this sort of a process the feudal lord was definitely standing

4. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

on sinking sand. He was caught in a vicious cycle which resulted in the complete loss of his property. The story[5] is told of one Giafigliazzi who began lending money in very small amounts to the Bishop of Fiesole. With the process started, Giafigliazzi and other associated families stripped the bishop and left him a pauper. A certain Cavalianti fleeced the nuns of Santa Felicita in the same way. This whole scheme which undercut feudalism was a blood-sucking process that affected monasteries, bishops, and secular lords alike. "Within a space of two centuries the whole landed wealth of the Florentine contado and a large part of Tuscany as well had passed from the original feudal owners into the possession of townsmen who, regardless of their social pretensions, were, or at least had begun their existence as traders and bankers."[6]

Moving along with this breakdown of the feudal estates, we have the increasing importance of urban centers. Of course these merchants, that stripped the feudal lords, were a part of the urban development. It has already been mentioned that there had been a stimulation of the crafts. With this rapid development, it was not long until the guilds put in their appearance. Soon it was that each craft had its own guild association. These guild associations were organized to control the production and distribution of their products and to protect the members of their particular guild. However, this guild system was not based on a capitalistic economy, and it was not based on the old feudal economy. It is true that each town tried so to control its production through the guilds that they might become self-sufficient. These cities which rose rapidly in the thirteenth century became quite independent. It is certainly true that the Church found it difficult to effect any control over the cities, because the Church was still thinking in terms of a feudal economy and had effected its control via the feudal manors.

"The new urban communities of burghers could not be contented in a society regulated by feudal and manorial custom. From the early time when professional merchants began to travel the highways, they were recognized as a unique group, governed by their own customs and entitled to the special protection of

5. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
6. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

princes and kings. They had long managed their own affairs, settled their own disputes, organized caravans for trade, and protected themselves when feudal lords could not or would not protect them. They had never been touched by the legal disabilities of serfdom. They could tolerate no personal limitation, no restriction of the freedom of movement that their very business demanded. So long as they were only a small and itinerant class such exemptions presented no great difficulty. But a considerable group of traders and artisans permanently settled on the land confronted feudal society with a serious problem. The merchants expected to retain all their privileges, which they sought to have confirmed for themselves and extended to include their local colleagues, and then enlarged to take in the whole nonagricultural community. The burghers grew painfully conscious of the restrictions on their whole manner of life entailed by a body of custom that had grown up in a society wholly agricultural. Since they did not cultivate the soil, why should they—indeed, how could they—be liable for the personal services and customary dues paid to the lord by his peasantry? Since they were not vassals for fiefs, what had they to do with feudal dues and military service? Since their world was governed by their own law merchant, why should they be subjected to feudal law? The more advanced of the new groups soon held that they should govern themselves, judge themselves, tax themselves; in other words, that they ought to have complete local autonomy."[7]

In not being able to contend with the rise of these independent cities which were the hotbeds for the rise of capitalism, I believe the Medieval Church started on its decline. Thompson pointed out that these rising cities were not to be controlled by the old feudal custom; and yet we see that the Church was not able to imagine any other sort of control. The Church had its feet too deeply sunk in feudalistic society. However, we also discover that the Church had to make use of the techniques of the rising capitalism as they came, but it could not get its thinking adjusted to the new economy.

As the towns developed, the merchants became more and more important. They also organized guilds and came to be the ruling

7. Thompson and Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval History*, pp. 582-3.

class in the towns. As the wave of commerce moved forward, the craftsmen found it difficult to market their goods on an international scale. That is, they found that they could not very well produce and distribute goods on an interregional or an international scale. Therefore they began to sell their goods to traders who undertook the risk of merchandising the goods. Thompson says, "it was from this source that the germs of capitalism emerged to permeate and destroy the guilds from within, and replace them by a new type of organization."[8]

The richer guild members—and I suppose some of them may have gotten rich through fleecing feudal lords out of their property through loans, as has been discussed—began to furnish the raw materials to their fellow members and pay them a wage for producing the finished product. The rich guild member would then export the products for his own profit. This began to bring about distinctions between greater and lesser guilds. The guilds themselves slipped into the control of rich families, and as early as the fourteenth century we find that free artisans were becoming mere wage earners. Out of this process and boring from within the guilds came the merchant-industrialist-capitalist.

As I indicated before, the papacy got itself all tangled up in this new economy, but at the same time was not able to control the situation and yet condemned many aspects of the new capitalism. The Church always lashed out against usury—and it certainly had a right to in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—but the Church had to borrow money and had to pay the interest demanded by the powerful merchant-bankers. About the only time the Church could bring a usurer to repentance was on his deathbed. It is said, "That a usurer on his deathbed was often obliged by the priest, before he would administer extreme unction, to restore to his victims some of his ill-gotten gains or, as a substitute measure, to leave a lump sum to the Church to distribute in charity as it saw fit, cannot alter our view of the shocking hypocrisy of the whole business."[9]

However, because the Church found money to be quite necessary, it had to obtain the services of these merchant-bankers. Yet many of these merchant-bankers had come into power through

8. Thompson and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 594.
9. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

their system of loaning money to bishops, abbots, and secular lords and thus confiscating their land. They soon took on the field of industrial promotion as did the rich guild members. One example of the work of a merchant company in the field of industrial promotion is recorded by Schevill. "The way in which a Florentine company would utilize its position as financial agent of the papacy in order to extend its trade may be illustrated by reference to England. When the Pope laid a tax on the English monasteries, a Florentine agent residing in England would present the bill. Since in all probability the abbots could not immediately pay, the ingratiating stranger, in his capacity of banker, advanced the assessment as a loan secured by the wool which the English monasteries produced in great quantities; or, in case a loan was not necessary, the Arno visitor, in his capacity of merchant, offered to buy the wool outright in order to ship it to the continent, where it was in demand for the manufacture of cloth. While the wool at first went generally to the cities of Flanders, toward the end of the thirteenth century the dealers widened their range and diverted the English wool in ever larger quantities to the banks of the Arno as an aid to the further development of the native woolen industry."[10]

When we have arrived at this phase of the economic revolution —that of interregional and international industrial promotion— we can say that capitalism was really beginning to blossom. The Crusaders then were the "touch off" for increased trade and resulted in a stimulation of the crafts. The feudal lords through their desire of the high standard of living made available by Eastern products and they, having no pecuniary reserves, began to lose their land to money lenders. The urban development saw a high development of the crafts into guild organization. However, as the need for interregional and international trade developed, the rich guild members and the money lenders who now had enough capital to be merchant bankers engaged in industrial promotion. It is at this point that we see the seeds of the factory system beginning to develop, and it is here that capitalism has really gotten on its way.

In regard to the Church, Flick says, "The power to control the civilization of Western Europe had passed out of the hands of the

10. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

clergy and the feudal aristocracy into the hands of very different classes. The intellectual leadership of the clergy was transferred to the learned laymen. Kings and princes no longer selected their counsellors from churchmen but from the jurists and humanists whose ranks were recruited mostly from the middle or burgher class. This middle class by its brains and ability acquired a monopoly of commerce, trade, business, and wealth, and thus gradually became the ascendant class in Europe. The social-economic revolution, which resulted, was the greatest single factor undermining the power and prestige of the Medieval Church during the fifteenth century."[11]

11. Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Managerial Revolution, James Burnham. The John Day Co., Inc. 1941, New York. $2.50.

The sub-title of this book is, What is Happening in the World. There is no more apt characterization of the book than to say that the sub-title is wholly true.

We are all reading newspapers and listening to the radio. After reading "The Managerial Revolution" one feels that the usual newspaper commentator is a child telling a tale which he does not understand.

One part of the world of pre-September, 1939 was imbued with the idea of a coming socialist society which was to be "classless, fully democratic, and international." The other part of the world was equally convinced of the permanence of the capitalist society.

But neither theory was right. A new class structure of society has been emerging for some time. The "Managerial Revolution" is far advanced. The "managers" (the rulers of tomorrow) are no longer money kings but the technicians, skilled engineers, organizers of labor and similar functionaries; "those who already in contemporary society are actually managing, on its technical side, the actual process of production." The Industrial Revolution has brought us to this!

There is much this short review cannot recount. The book really explains the newspapers and much besides. Written in 1940 one is startled to find how fast and how far events have confirmed the theories of Dr. Burnham. If he is not a prophet he must be regarded as a first-rate seer.

His further theories are most interesting and if mistaken in detail may still be correct in the direction of thought.

Is the book optimistic or pessimistic? Neither. It is written as objective dispassionate analysis. The author is a teacher of philosophy and history.

The most interesting chapter is the one the author did not write. It is the Position of the Church in the Managerial Society.

This Unwritten Chapter is the reason every peace-loving Christian should read the book.

Why attempt to write that chapter here? All our discussions of world reconstruction are under that general heading. No discussion is complete that fails to reckon with the data of this book.

Johann Conrad Beissel, by Walter C. Klein. University of Penn Press, 1942. $2.25.

This is the first book-length modern biography of Conrad Beissel to be produced. It is a volume in a series of Pennsylvania Lives sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania.

It is a scholarly and carefully arranged and documented piece of work. It is readable. Beissel comes alive and if the author handles him unmercifully, one feels that he has also an affection for the "mystic and martinet," who endured seventy-eight years of earthly pilgrimage.

The incredible bickering of the Ephrata community certainly astounds one. The reader hardly knows whether to pity these misguided enthusiasts and idealists or to admire them for their persistence; whether to get angry or to laugh. One probably does both.

One cannot say Beissel grows in eminence through this biography. What is his claim to fame? He was a pioneer character of Pennsylvania!

The world might have spared him, it seems to the thoughtful reader. Yet there were elements of sincerity and steadfastness in his character. Klein refers to him by such contradictory titles as the "wizard of Conestoga" and religious founder. He further says Beissel is of the elect company of "the weakest minds of the eighteenth century." The biographer has sagely observed that "The complete truth about Beissel has been preserved in the mind of God."

One is painfully impressed with the likeness of Beissel to occasional acquaintances. Just because the story has riddles, one's interest in it is piqued.

That whole fraternity who study and teach history owe Dr. Klein a vote of thanks for his doctoral dissertation. This is definitely *the* life of Beissel.

F. E. Mallott.